This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

STANFORD VNIVERSITY LIBRARY

MEMOIRS

TO ILLUSTRATE

THE HISTORY OF MY TIME.

By F. GUIZOT,

AUTHOR OF 'MEMOIRS OF SIR ROBERT PEEL,' 'HISTORY OF OLIVER CROMWELL,' ETC. ETC.

TRANSLATED BY J. W. COLE.

VOLUME III.

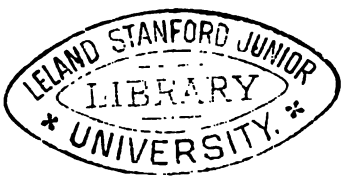
LONDON:

RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,

Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty.

1860.

974.06
G96 ma
v. 3



A. 18464.

LONDON: PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET AND CHARING CROSS.

CONTENTS

OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

MY MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

(*From* 1832 *to* 1837.)

Page

Character and Object of the Cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832.—Difficulties of its Situation.—Advantages of its Composition.—Sources of the Popularity of the Ministry of Public Instruction.—Its importance to Families and to the State.—On the different modes of governing Minds according to the Times.—Laical Character of the existing state of Intelligence and Science.—Of the System and Condition of the Establishments for Public Instruction in England.—My Conversations in London on this Subject.—Necessary Unity of the System of Public Instruction in France.—Attempts to organize Public Instruction since 1789.—The Constituent Assembly and M. de Talleyrand.—The Legislative Assembly and M. de Condorcet.—The National Convention and M. Daunou.—The Consulate and the Law of the 1st of May, 1802.—The Empire and the University.—Public Instruction and the Charter.—Vicissitudes in the Organization of the Ministry of Public Instruction.—How I remodelled it on entering Office.—Debates in the Cabinet.—Preparation of the King's Speech.—Opening of the Session of 1832.—Attempt to assassinate the King.—State of Affairs at Home and Abroad.—I am taken ill 1

CHAPTER II.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Page

I continue ill for six weeks.—Capture of Antwerp.—Arrest of Her Royal Highness the Duchess de Berri.—Of the Policy of the Cabinet under this Contingency.—I resume Business.—Introduction to the Chamber of Deputies of a Bill on Elementary Education.—My Domestic Life.—Plans and Progress on the subject of Elementary Education from 1789 to 1832.—Essential Questions.—Ought Elementary Education to be Compulsory? Should it be Gratuitous?—Of Liberty in Elementary Education.—Of the Objects and Limits of Elementary Education.—Of the Education and Supply of Elementary Teachers.—Of the Superintendence of Elementary Schools.—Necessary co-operation of the Church and State.—Elementary Education ought to be essentially Religious.—Administrative measures to secure the Execution and Efficacy of the Law.—Moral measures.—Promulgation of the Act of the 28th of June, 1833.—My Circular to all the Elementary Teachers.—General Visit to the Elementary Schools.—Establishment of Inspectors of the Elementary Schools.—My communication with the Religious Corporations dedicated to Elementary Instruction.—Brother Anaclet.—The Abbé J. M. de La Mennais.—The Abbé F. de La Mennais.—My Report to the King in April, 1834, on the Execution of the Act of the 28th of June, 1833.—Of the actual state of Elementary Education 39

CHAPTER III.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

Difficulty of introducing the principle of Liberty into Secondary Education.—Original Constitution of the University.—Its two classes of Enemies.—Their Injustice.—Natural and Legitimate Causes of their Hostility.—The University in its Relations with the Church.—Internal State and Social Position of Catholicism in 1830.—Demand for Liberty of Instruction.—M. de Montalembert and the Abbé Lacordaire.—Opposing tendencies in Catholicism.—Efforts for its Reconciliation with Modern Society.—The Abbé F. de La Mennais.—L'Avenir.—Journey of

Page

the Abbé de La Mennais, Abbé Lacordaire, and M. de Montalembert to Rome.—Pope Gregory XVI. condemns L'Avenir.—The University in its Relations with Civil Society.—What would have been a good Solution of the Problem.—Why and through whom it was Rejected.—I prepare a Bill upon Secondary Education.—Its Character and Limits.—How it was Received.—Report of M. Saint-Marc Girardin to the Chamber of Deputies.—Debate on the Bill.—M. de Lamartine . . . 83

CHAPTER IV.

SUPERIOR EDUCATION.

State of Minds from 1832 to 1837 on the subject of Superior Education.—Reforms and necessary Innovations.—How I entered on them.—Vacant Chairs in the College of France.—Nomination of Messrs. Eugène Burnouf, Jouffroy, Ampère, and Rossi.—My Personal Relations with them.—Creation of a Chair of Constitutional Law in the Faculty of Law at Paris.—Appointment of M. Rossi.—Opposition to his Course of Lectures.—M. Auguste Comte and Positive Philosophy.—Proceedings in the Chambers against Men of Science and Letters.—On Plurality of Employments.—On Apartments.—Letter from M. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire.—Scientific Travellers.—Messrs. Victor Jacquemont and Champollion the Younger.—On the Introduction of the principle of Liberty in Superior Education.—On the absence of all Moral Discipline in Superior Education.—Means of applying a Remedy 106

CHAPTER V.

ACADEMIES AND LITERARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

Re-establishment of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences in the Institute.—Motives and Objections.—Letter from M. Royer-Collard.—I communicate my plan to the surviving Members of the Old Class of Moral and Political Sciences.—The Abbé Sièyes —Count Rœderer.—M. Daunou.—New Elections.—M. Lakanal.—Of the Labours of the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences, and of the general utility of Academies.—My Communications with the Learned Societies of the Depart-

Page

ments.—On the Administration of Literary and Scientific Establishments.—False Ideas on this Subject.—On the Suppression of Apartments for the Keepers and Officers in the Interior of these Establishments.—Reforms in the Administration of the Royal Library.—Increase of the Budget for Literary and Scientific Establishments.—New Buildings in the Museum of Natural History 138

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL STUDIES.

Moral and Political Importance of Historical Studies.—State of Historical Studies in Public Instruction before 1818.—Introduction of the special teaching of History in the Colleges.—The Character and Limits of that Teaching.—State of Historical Studies after the Revolution of 1830.—Letter from M. Augustine Thierry on this Subject.—Foundation of the Society for the History of France.—I propose the publication, by the Minister of Public Instruction, of a large collection of inedited Documents relative to the History of France.—Debate in the Chambers on this Question.—My Report to King Louis-Philippe.—Letter from the King.—M. Michelet and M. Edgar Quinet.—Of the actual condition of Studies on the General and Local History of France, and of the influence of these Studies . 161

CHAPTER VII.

INTERNAL POLICY.

(*From* 1832 *to* 1836.)

True Character of the Policy of Resistance from 1830 to 1836.—State of Parties in the Chambers in 1832.—Nomination of Peers.—Commencement of the Third Party in the Chamber of Deputies.—M. Dupin President.—Dismissal of Messrs. Dubois de Nantes and Baude.—Debate on this Subject.—Sessions of 1832 and 1833.—Good attitude of the Cabinet.—Secret Societies of this period.—Of the support they found in the Chamber of Deputies.—Of the Journals.—What course authority should hold with regard to the Liberty of the Periodical Press.—Wherein lay our error in this respect.—Prosecution of the

Page

'Tribune' before the Chamber of Deputies.—Useless Concessions to the Revolutionary Spirit.—Session of 1834.—Debate between M. Dupin and myself, *because* and *although* a Bourbon.—Explosion of Republican and Anarchical Attacks.—Law against Public Criers.—Law against Associations.—Treaty of the Twenty-five millions with the United States of America.—Check and Retirement of the Duke de Broglie.—Why I remain in the Cabinet.—Its Reconstitution.—Insurrections of April, 1834, at Lyons, and on several other points—At Paris—Their Defeat.—Prosecution referred to the Court of Peers.—Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies.—The Elections favourable to us.—Peril of the Situation.—Attitude of the Third Party.—Internal Embarrassments of the Cabinet.—Question of the Government of Algeria.—Marshal Soult.—His Retirement.—Marshal Gérard President of the Council.—Opening of the Session of 1835.—Address of the Chamber of Deputies.—Question of the Amnesty.—Marshal Gérard retires.—Dismissal of Messrs. Duchâtel, Humann, Rigny, Thiers, and myself.—Ministry of the Three Days.—Its sudden Dissolution.—We return to Power with Marshal Mortier as President of the Council.—M. de Talleyrand retires from the Embassy in London.—Death and Funeral of M. de La Fayette.—My Misunderstanding with M. Royer-Collard.—Weakness and Resignation of the Cabinet.—Ministerial Crisis.—The King and the Duke de Broglie.—M. Thiers.—The Duke de Broglie resumes Office as President of the Council and Minister for Foreign Affairs.—Labours of the reconstructed Cabinet.—Trial of the Accused of April before the Court of Peers.—Return of Anarchy.—The Fieschi Assassination.—Laws of September.—Strong Position of the Cabinet.—Unexpected Incident.—M. Humann and the Conversion of the Funds.—Check and Dissolution of the Cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832 175

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS 321

MEMOIRS

TO ILLUSTRATE

THE HISTORY OF MY TIME.

CHAPTER I.

MY MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

CHARACTER AND OBJECT OF THE CABINET OF THE 11TH OF OCTOBER, 1832.—DIFFICULTIES OF ITS SITUATION.—ADVANTAGES OF ITS COMPOSITION.—SOURCES OF THE POPULARITY OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—ITS IMPORTANCE TO FAMILIES AND TO THE STATE.—ON THE DIFFERENT MODES OF GOVERNING MINDS ACCORDING TO THE TIMES.—LAICAL CHARACTER OF THE EXISTING STATE OF INTELLIGENCE AND SCIENCE.—OF THE SYSTEM AND CONDITION OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS FOR PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN ENGLAND.—MY CONVERSATIONS IN LONDON ON THIS SUBJECT.—NECESSARY UNITY OF THE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION IN FRANCE.—ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE PUBLIC INSTRUCTION SINCE 1789.—THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND M. DE TALLEYRAND.—THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY AND M. DE CONDORCET.—THE NATIONAL CONVENTION AND M. DAUNOU.—THE CONSULATE AND THE LAW OF THE 1ST OF MAY, 1802.—THE EMPIRE AND THE UNIVERSITY.—PUBLIC INSTRUCTION AND THE CHARTER.—VICISSITUDES IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.—HOW I REMODELLED IT ON ENTERING OFFICE.—DEBATES IN THE CABINET.—PREPARATION OF THE KING'S SPEECH.—OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1832.—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE KING.—STATE OF AFFAIRS AT HOME AND ABROAD.—I AM TAKEN ILL.

(*From* 1832 *to* 1837.)

I HAVE no intention of touching upon the questions and quarrels of the present day; I have enough to do with those which awaken remembrances of the past, and

wish to avoid, rather than court comparisons and allusions. Nevertheless, at the period I have now reached, a fact presents itself to which I feel bound to assign its true character and meaning. The first premeditated trial of what has since been called Parliamentary Government, is generally ascribed to the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832. It was, in fact, in presence of the Parliament, or, to speak more correctly, of the Chambers, and from their very heart, that this cabinet was selected to secure for the new monarchy their close and active co-operation. I am, therefore, anxious to explain precisely what appeared to be in our eyes the nature of the mission the burden of which we thus accepted.

Men of sense will one day smile when they recall the disputes that for some time prevailed respecting these words, "parliamentary government," and the expressions opposed to them. Parliamentary government is rejected, while the representative system is acknowledged. The nation refuses a constitutional monarchy such as we have seen it from 1814 to 1848; but by the side of a throne preserves a constitution. People draw distinctions, comment, and argue confusedly to establish a wide separation between parliamentary government and the national and liberal, but, as they say, very different system understood to be adopted as its successor. I admit this, and yield over parliamentary government to the political anatomists who hold it as dead, and proceed to its autopsy. But I ask, what, in reality, will its successor be? What will be the true significance of this constitution and

national representation which now occupy the scene? Will the nation exercise an effective influence in its own affairs? Will it possess actual and powerful securities for its rights, possessions, and repose, as well as for its honour, and for all those moral and material interests which constitute the life of a people? Parliamentary government is taken away. Be it so. Will it be replaced by a free government under another name? Or will the nation be told clearly and openly that it must be satisfied without, and that the forms still preserved are nothing more than vain appearances, unworthy falsehood, and puerile illusion?

It is evident that there may be different modes and degrees of free government, and that the division of political rights and powers between authority and liberty cannot be always and everywhere the same. These are questions of time, place, manners, national age, geography, and history. I also admit that on these points our parliamentary system has more than once fallen into error; that it has at one time accorded or refused too much to power, at another to liberty, and perhaps to both. But if nothing beyond this is implied in the attacks upon that system, much of the outcry might have been spared. Faults being acknowledged, the true and important question still remains: Is France to have or not to have a liberal government? It would be an act of petty hypocrisy to retreat behind the errors of the parliamentary system, either in evasion of an answer to this conclusive question, or to resolve it negatively, without acknowledgment. References are incessantly made to 1789. Is it forgotten that it was

specifically a free government, with its principles and pledges, that France desired at that epoch? Or is it believed that she was then satisfied with a new civil code and with new men, either on the throne, or around it, as the price of the revolution into which she plunged?

When we formed the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, the question, as far as it concerned us, was settled. We scarcely troubled ourselves then on the subject of parliamentary government; the name was not even thought of. But we seriously wished to introduce a liberal system, with the effectual guarantees of sound legislation. It was, in truth, political liberty which we sought to exercise ourselves, and to establish for our country. In that common principle and object the unity of the ministry was comprised. It was far from combining all the conditions or of presenting all the features usually considered essential to a parliamentary cabinet. We did not enter into office together and at the same time; neither did we all spring, without exception, from the same political ranks. We had not all adopted similar maxims and marched under one flag. Of the eight ministers of the 11th of October, 1832, four had belonged to the preceding cabinet; four only were new. Some had supported and served, others had opposed the Restoration. A close investigator of our ideas and general tendencies, of our habits of mind and life, would have found amongst us important distinctions. But whether from principle, taste, good sense, or prudence, we all looked upon liberal government as the form

required. All were unanimously desirous that the Monarchy and the Charter should pass into a truth together.

In the eyes of the most intelligent and favourable spectators, the enterprise appeared to be singularly difficult and hazardous. Through the determined energy of M. Casimir Périer, and the great struggle of the 5th and 6th of June, the Government of July still maintained itself; but to that point its success was confined. It was surrounded by the same enemies, and menaced by the same perils. Conspiracies and insurrections were ever flagrant or imminent; secret societies became more and more inflammatory and audacious; the periodical press, in a great majority violently hostile, aggressive, and destructive, controlled, intimidated, and led away the parliamentary opposition. This unproductive victory, this continued boiling of the tempest when we believed ourselves in port, struck the most enlightened minds with surprise and disquietude, and impressed them with melancholy doubts as to the success of a policy combining, at the same time, resistance and liberty. On the 17th of October, M. de Barante wrote to me from Turin thus: "You are involved in imminent risks, you and the country: I am satisfied, but uneasy. Do those terrible and senseless clamours obtain much influence in the Chamber? Are you persuaded that you will have a majority? Probably without that conviction you would never have risked yourself, your friends, and the common lot." Eight days later, on the 25th of October, M. Rossi, from Geneva, expressed to me

analogous apprehensions: "The game is, as you say, thoroughly on the hazard; but it is you who have the great struggle upon your hands. No one, as you well know, more sincerely wishes you success than I do. You will win, if you can employ your unimpeded energies for the consolidation, advancement, and glory of France? But can you do this? Will you be understood? Will you not be shackled? These are my fears, always flattering myself that they are chimerical." At the moment of forming the cabinet the same doubts possessed several of its leading members. The Duke de Broglie, who made my adherence the condition of his own, hesitated, a short time before, as to whether he could take office. On the 27th of June, he wrote to me as follows: "The turn which the affairs of La Vendée have taken within the last six weeks seems to render my joining the ministry utterly impossible. There is already enmity enough attached to the name of Doctrinarian. We must not at this moment add to it the objection of passing for Carlists in the eyes of blockheads. It will not do to supply such arms against the cabinet now reconstructing as would be furnished by my political conduct in the Chamber of Peers during the course of the last session. This is a mischance from which I could not redeem myself but by becoming a persecutor—a character in no way suited to my disposition. I am ignorant of your views, and of what you believe to be possible or desirable. I think if you can enter on office with Thiers and Dupin, the arrangement will be good; but if this cannot be, it will be better not to exhaust and compromise yourself for

certain defeat. It is not to you who know me that I need say, all I can do is yours, either in or out of the ministry, and that I will readily lay my head where you place your own; but, I repeat, it would seem to me absurd to brave the storm which my name alone would excite. The cry of Carlist is really the only one which at this moment finds any echo in France; and however extravagant it may be to raise it against me, at least half of the good portion of the Chamber of Deputies, and two thirds of our best-disposed public will not fail to give credit to it."

Even when the cabinet was complete, the members were not all fully confident in its composition and prospects. Admiral de Rigny wrote to M. Dupin: "I was little disposed, as you know, for such a combination, despite my high estimation of the respective persons. At least, I shall not be accused of having remained by choice, for I declare—and I trust I have still a right to be believed—that in so acting, I have done violence to myself. Undoubtedly the game is dangerous; in this I do not deceive myself. It would have been so even with your support, though, as I think, in a less degree. What will it be without that aid?"

M. Thiers also felt a little uneasy at an alliance with the Doctrinarians; and, though thoroughly loyal in his intercourse with them, and convinced of the necessity of their co-operation, he took some pains to remain and appear, not exactly separated, but distinct and independent.

One particular circumstance diminished the difficulties

of this situation and assisted the new government to surmount them. Independently of the common conviction which united their general policy, the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, had this advantage, that each of its members was well suited to the special post in which he was placed. The army required not only to be completely remodelled, but to be raised above the check it had received in 1830. Marshal Soult was more capable than any other person of rendering this double service. "An unrivalled organizer of troops," according to the Emperor Napoleon; an old soldier, a commander of high renown, a serious Gascon, skilful in availing himself of his name and reputation, either in the public service or for his own private affairs, and gifted with that tone of authority, at once bold and prudent, which knows how to exercise itself with due restraint. Respect for treaties, independence and dignity during peace, the confidence of Europe in the integrity of the new government of France, the close relations with England—all these essential bases of our external policy were guaranteed by the character and position of the Duke de Broglie, who found in his personal intimacy with Lord Granville—at that time English ambassador in Paris—valuable facilities and legitimate means of success. In accepting the ministry of the Interior, although almost entirely reduced to the duties of watching the general safety, M. Thiers had, as it were, personally pledged himself to put an end to the state of insurrection which the presence of the Duchess de Berri maintained in the western departments. By this he rendered bold testimony of his

devotion to the cause he served and the cabinet he had joined. Admiral de Rigny, who had won renown in the command of our squadron in the Levant, and at Navarino, possessed the rare merit of being exempt from prejudices on questions relating to our colonial system, and of a strong disposition to undertake the important reforms in that department, which were equally called for by human rights and sound administration. M. Barthe, under the Restoration, had been too much engaged in the ranks and acts of the extreme opposition for his devotion to the service of the monarchy of 1830 not to excite against him those of his old allies, who were hostile to all forms of kingly government; but his situation and temperament suited the majority of the party which adopted frankly the new system. He could not be suspected of a leaning towards the Legitimists, and he showed himself firm in support of the recently established power against its various opponents. King Louis-Philippe, to whom he had rendered good service under the embarrassments of the Laffitte administration, treated him with confidence. "Very few advocates," he said to me one day, "understand the conditions of government: Barthe has mastered them. He is not a deserter, but a convert: he has seen the light." M. Humann did not at once obtain the same credit with the King. As a minister of Finance he was exacting, suspicious, susceptible, and anxious not to appear yielding towards the crown; but his acknowledged talents, his great personal fortune—the fruits of his ability, the gravity of his deportment, which took nothing from his shrewdness,

his spirit of order and regularity in the management of the public funds, gave him an authority in the Chambers, as regarded the affairs of his department, which on great occasions, and with exalted intelligence, he always exercised for the advantage of our general policy. Amongst the ministers of the 11th of October, he was one whose special merit was generally recognized by the public, and contributed much to the credit of the cabinet.

I filled the ministry of Public Instruction for four years. During that time I entered upon every question which belonged or applied to that department. I am anxious to retrace what I accomplished, what I commenced without carrying through, and what I intended to achieve. Throughout the same period I was also engaged in all the struggles of interior and external policy, in all the vicissitudes of the composition and destiny of the cabinet. I shall exempt from this battle of the events and passions of the day such matters as relate only to Public Instruction. Not that these are without their excitement and stir; but they are passions lit up upon another hearth, and commotions acted in a different sphere. There are combats and storms in the region of ideas, but even when that region ceases to be serene, it still continues elevated: and when once we have mounted there, it is not becoming to descend at every moment, and re-enter the arena of temporal interests. When I have recounted my labours from 1832 to 1837, in the service of mind and intelligence, as applicable to future generations, I shall return to the part I took, during the same epoch, in the political conflicts of my contemporaries.

There is a fact which has been too little regarded. Amongst us, and in our days, the ministry of Public Instruction is the most popular of all governmental departments, and that which the people look upon with the highest favour and expectation. A good symptom in our age, when men, it is said, are exclusively occupied with their actual and material interests. The ministry of Public Instruction has nothing whatever to do with the material and actual interests of the generation which possesses the world for the moment. It is consecrated to succeeding races—to their intelligence and destiny. Our age and our country, therefore, are not so indifferent as they are accused of being to moral order and to the future.

Family duties and feelings exercise at present an extensive sway. I say duties and feelings, not the family spirit or sympathy of class, such as it existed under our old society. Legal and political family ties are weakened; natural and moral bonds have increased in strength. Never did parents live so affectionately and intimately with their children; never were they so completely engaged with their instruction and prospects. Although profusely mingled with error and evil, the violent shock which, in this sense, Rousseau and his school have given to minds and manners, has not been profitless, and salutary traces still remain. Egotism, corruption, and worldly frivolity assuredly are not rare. The very foundations of the family tie have lately been and are still exposed to senseless and perverse attacks. Nevertheless, looking upon our social system in general, and on those millions of existences which pass noise-

lessly on, but really constitute France, the domestic virtues and affections predominate, and are more than ever exemplified in the constant and active solicitude of parents for the education of their children.

An idea connects itself with these sentiments and gives them a new empire. The idea that personal merit is now the first controlling influence, as it is the primary condition of success in life, and that this quality is indispensable. We have witnessed, during three-fourths of a century, the incompetence and fragility of all the advantages derived from accident, birth, riches, or traditionary rank. We have seen, at the same time, in every stage and fluctuation of society, a crowd of men raise themselves and take high places, by the sole force of intelligence, character, knowledge and exertion. In conjunction with the sad and injurious impressions which this violent and perpetual confusion of places and persons excites in the mind, a great moral lesson presents itself;—the conviction that man can vindicate his own value, and that his destiny essentially depends on individual worth. In spite of all that our manners retain of weakness and inconsistency, there is at present in French society a general and profound sentiment, acting powerfully in the bosoms of families, which gives to parents more judgment and foresight in the education of their children, and which they could not have acquired without these rude warnings of contemporary experience: judgment and foresight even more necessary in the classes already well treated by fortune than in others less favoured. A great geologist, M. Elie de Beaumont, has brought us into close acquaintance

with the revolutions of our globe. The inequalities of its surface are formed by interior fermentation; volcanoes have produced mountains. Let not the classes which occupy the social eminences delude themselves. A corresponding fact is passing under their feet. Human society continues to ferment even in its lowest depths, and struggles to eject from its bosom new elevations. This extensive and hidden ebullition, this ardent and universal movement of ascent, forms the essential characteristic of all democratic associations; it is, in truth, democracy itself. In presence of this fact, what would become of the classes already endowed with social advantages—the long-descended, the rich, the great, and the favoured of every description, if to the gifts of fortune they added not the claims of personal merit? If they did not by study, labour, acquirement, and energetic habits of mind and life, render themselves equal in every career to the immense competition they have to encounter, and which can only be overcome by grappling with it vigorously?

It is to this condition of our society, to an instinctive appreciation of its necessities, to the sentiment of ambitious or provident solicitude which reigns in families, that the ministry of Public Instruction owes its popularity. All parents interest themselves warmly in the abundance and healthfulness of the source from which their children are to be nourished.

By the side of this powerful domestic interest, a great public consideration also places itself. Necessary to families, the ministry of Public Instruction is not less important to the state.

The grand problem of modern society is the government of minds. It has frequently been said in the last century, and it is often repeated now, that minds ought not to be fettered, that they should be left to their free operation, and that society has neither the right nor the necessity of interference. Experience has protested against this haughty and precipitate solution. It has shown what it was to suffer minds to be unchecked, and has roughly demonstrated that even in intellectual order, guides and bridles are necessary. The very men who have maintained, here and elsewhere, the principle of total unrestraint, have been the first to renounce it as soon as they experienced the burden of power. Never were minds more violently hunted down, never less open to self-instruction and spontaneous development; never have more systems been invented, or greater efforts been made to subjugate them, than under the rule of those parties who had demanded the abolition of all intermeddling in the domains of intellect.

But if, for the advantage of progress, as well as for good order in society, a certain government of minds is always necessary, the conditions and means of this government are neither at all times nor in all places the same. Within our own experience they have greatly changed.

Formerly, the church alone possessed the control of minds. She united, at once, moral influence and intellectual supremacy. She was charged equally to feed intelligence and to govern souls. Science was her domain as exclusively as faith. All this is over. Intelligence and science have become expanded and

secularized. Laical students have entered in crowds into the field of the moral sciences, and have cultivated it with brilliancy. They have almost entirely appropriated mathematics and natural philosophy. The church has not wanted erudite ecclesiastics; but the learned world, professors and public, has become more secular than clerical. Science has ceased to dwell habitually under the same roof with faith; she has traversed the world. She has moreover become a practical force, fertile in daily application for the use of all classes of society.

In becoming more laical, intelligence and science have aspired to greater liberty. This was the natural consequence of their power, popularity, and pride, which increased together. And the public has sustained them in their pretension, for it speedily discovered that its own liberty was intimately connected with theirs; and soon after, that liberty conferred on the masters of thought and science a just reward for the new powers they had placed at the disposal of society, and for the common benefits they had conferred on all.

Whether we receive them with congratulations or regret; whether we agree or differ upon their consequences; whether we blind or alarm ourselves as to their danger;—here are certain and irrevocable facts. Intelligence and science will never again become essentially ecclesiastical; neither will they be satisfied without an extensive field of free exercise.

But precisely because they are now more laical, more powerful, and more free than formerly, intelligence and science could never remain beyond the government of society. When we say government, we do not neces-

sarily imply positive and direct authority. Washington said, "influence is not government;" and in the sense of political order he was right. Influence there would not suffice. Direct and promptly effective action is necessary. With intellectual order the case is different. Where minds are concerned, it is pre-eminently by influence that government should be exercised. Two facts, as I think, are here necessary: one, that the powers devoted to intellectual labour, the leaders of science and literature, should be drawn towards the government, frankly assembled around it, and induced to live in natural and habitual relations with constitutional authority; the other, that the government should not remain careless or ignorant of the moral development of succeeding generations, and that as they appear upon the scene, it should study to establish intimate ties between them and the state, in the bosom of which God has placed their existence. For the progress of intellectual order, it is the legitimate and necessary duty of civil government to promote great establishments for science, and great schools for public instruction, on regulated conditions, and supported by the highest public authority.

By what means can we at present, in France, secure this action of the government, and satisfy a vital requirement of society? Formerly, France possessed, in great number, special establishments, supported by themselves; universities, and learned or scholastic corporations, which, without depending on the state, were, however, connected with it by ties more or less intimate or apparent; sometimes demanding its support,

and at others not able entirely to withdraw from its intervention; and thus conferring on the civil power an actual although an indirect and limited influence on the intellectual life and education of society. The University of Paris, the Sorbonne, the Benedictines, the Oratorians, the Lazarists, the Jesuits, and many other corporate bodies and schools scattered through the provinces, were assuredly not branches of public administration, and were often the causes of serious embarrassment. Before they disappeared in the revolutionary tempest, several of these establishments had fallen into abuse or insignificance, which destroyed their moral credit and obliterated their services. But for ages they had seconded the intellectual development of French society, and had co-operated profitably in its government. Being nearly all old proprietaries, attached to their traditions, and founded with a religious object, they had instincts of order and authority as well as of independence. In the aggregate, they constituted a mode of action by the state on the intellectual life and education of the people: a confused and incoherent mode, which had its difficulties and vices, but was not deficient either in dignity or efficacy.

In 1848, during my residence in England, the question was debated whether it would be desirable to establish a ministry of public instruction in that country, and thus to place this great social interest under the direct authority of the civil and central power. Men of eminence, some of them politicians and members of parliament, some belonging to the Anglican church, others purely liberal and philosophical, requested my

opinion. We held several conversations on the subject. I explained to them our system of public instruction in France; they were already well acquainted with that of Germany. After a serious investigation of the matter, they arrived at a conclusion as regarded their own country, which I think it well to repeat here in its exact bearing; for, while it describes correctly the nature of those establishments in England, it throws, in this particular point, a strong light upon the comparative state of the two countries.

"We have not," said they, "in England, as in France and Prussia, a general and uniform system of public instruction. But we have public seminaries in great number, and of every kind and degree: elementary schools for the education of the people, colleges for classic and literary study, and universities for all the higher branches of science.

"These establishments are distinct and isolated. Each subsists by itself for its own advantage, and with its own resources and administration. They are all different; they have ever been and still continue organized according to the ideas and intentions of the founders, of those by whom they are conducted, or of that portion of the public who confide their children to their care. They are in a great degree, if not entirely, independent of the central government, which watches over and sometimes interferes, but does not direct them. Finally, they are for the most part subject to religious control; the greater number under the influence of the established church; the remainder under that of the dissenting sects and communions.

"There are undoubtedly in the interior administration and organization of these establishments many imperfections which may be pointed out, many abuses to abolish, blanks to fill up, and improvements to introduce. We are anxious for these reforms. We wish that the central government of the state, either the parliament or the crown, would interpose to supply all deficiencies in the existing establishments, to remove abuses and to permit such means of development as may stimulate mutual zeal and emulation. But we consider it essential that the interference of government should stop there, and not institute a special ministry of public instruction, with a view either of founding by the side of, and independent of the actual establishments, a general system of different schools, or of laying hand upon these separate institutions to unite them into one combined whole, and place them under a single authority. Such an attempt would be a positive revolution in matters of public teaching. We infinitely prefer the maintenance of the present system.

"First, because that system does exist, and that we hold essentially to the support of acquired rights and established facts, in regard to public instruction, as in other matters. It is not easy to create beings who actually live and endure. Our elementary schools, whether of the established church or of the dissenters; our classical colleges of Eton, Harrow, Westminster, and Rugby; our universities of Oxford and Cambridge, are living and proved existences. We may organize upon paper more complete and more systematic seminaries of instruction. But would they rise beyond the

paper? Would they increase and fructify? Would they last? We have strong doubts to the contrary. We have more confidence in facts consecrated by time, than in the experiments of human fancy.

"Again, the variety and isolation of our existing establishments are pledges of liberty; and we lay much stress on liberty, real and practical, in public instruction as on all other points. It is liberty that has founded the chief portion of our present schools, great and small. They owe their existence to the free intentions, the voluntary gifts of persons who desired to gratify a particular sentiment, or to realize a certain idea. The same ideas and sentiments which animated the founders, occupy still, in all probability, an important place in our present society. The world does not change so much or so quickly as superficial minds imagine, and liberty accords ill with scientific uniformity. We desire that the various establishments founded in times past by the free wishes of benevolent persons, should still continue to offer to the unfettered choice of parents for the education of children, their different recommendations; and we believe this to be essential to the prosperity of public instruction, which requires the confidence of families, and also to the stability of social order.

"Further, we attach a predominant value to the religious habits and influences prevailing at present in the greater part of our public schools; habits and influences which would disappear, or at least become materially weakened if these establishments were blended into one vast whole, subject to the direct and ever-

present action of state government. We are far from wishing to intrust to the church the general control of public instruction; neither do we desire to replace public instruction entirely in the hands of the central laical power, which, either by design or not, would speedily take from the religious authorities the degree of influence they ought to preserve.

"A principle is appealed to. Civil and religious instruction, it is affirmed, should be completely divided; in giving up religious culture entirely to the clergy, and in securing to them the means and liberty of dispensing it, civil education ought to remain exclusively under the control of laical superintendence. We condemn this principle as false and pernicious, at least in the sense and to the extent proposed. In matters of elevated science, and for men, or youths verging on the age of manhood, civil and religious instruction may be entirely separated. The nature of their studies admits of the division, and the freedom of the human mind requires it. But the higher branches of teaching are only one of the degrees in every general system of public instruction. What is the important matter in the greater number of these seminaries, in elementary and classical schools, and for the children who live there so many years? The essential questions are education and moral discipline. Good in itself, and by the rich additions it brings to the natural faculties of man, it is above all, in its intimate connection with moral development, that the excellence of intellectual instruction consists. Now, we may separate instruction, but we cannot divide education. We may limit to certain hours the lessons

which apply to intelligence only; but we cannot measure or canton thus the power of religious influences over the entire soul. To reach their end, to produce their effect, these influences must be ever present and habitually felt. Pure civil instruction may form the mind and character, but it cannot nourish or regulate the soul. God and the parents of the child alone have this power. There can be no true moral education except through the bonds of family or religion. And there where the family is not, that is to say, in our public schools, the influence of religion is doubly necessary. It forms the honour and happiness of our country that in our establishments of public instruction, this influence in general predominates. We cannot find that with us it has injured either the activity or free development of the human mind, while at the same time it is evident that it has materially promoted public order and individual morality.

"We should therefore regard as a serious evil, and would oppose with our utmost strength, any general organization of public instruction which should materially alter the actual condition of our different establishments, and their prevailing influences. We shall applaud all reforms and interior improvements that may be introduced, but we neither wish to recast our schools in a uniform mould, nor to see them concentrated under the government of a single hand."

I can understand why the English arrive at this conclusion, and I commend them for it. In France we have no grounds on which to rest a similar argument. With us, the old and multiplied establishments of public

instruction have disappeared; the owners and the property, the corporations and the endowments. We have no longer in our great society any small private associations, self-subsisting, and dedicated to various degrees of education. All that has recovered itself, or endeavours to spring up, of this nature, is evidently insufficient for the public wants. In the matter of instruction, as in our entire social organization, a general system founded and supported by the state is, with us, an absolute necessity; the condition imposed on us by our history and national genius. We desire unity,—the state alone can give it; we have destroyed everything, —we must create anew.

It is a strange spectacle to behold man at issue with the work of creation, and the ambitious grandeur of his thought displaying itself without regard to the narrow limits of his power. From 1789 to 1800, three celebrated bodies, true sovereigns of their time, the Constituent Assembly, the Legislative Assembly, and the National Convention, undertook to bestow on France a grand system of public instruction. Three persons of eminent and very opposite abilities, M. de Talleyrand, M. de Condorcet, and M. Daunou, were successively commissioned to draw up a report and present a plan on this important question, with which the enlightened spirits engaged in revolutionary struggles delighted to occupy themselves, as if to find in this field of speculation and philosophic hope, some relief from the violence of the times. The reports of these three brilliant men, representing the society, the politics, and the science of their age, are remarkable works, both in their common

character and in their different and distinctive features. In all three, man alone reigns supreme in this world, and the Revolution of 1789 is the date of his accession to the throne. He ascends confident in his omnipotence, regulates human society as a master, for the future as well as for the present, and feels assured of fashioning it according to his own will. In the report to which M. de Talleyrand has affixed his name, the pride of mind predominates, combined with benevolent ardour, but without passion or hesitating doubt. Public instruction is there called "*a power* which embraces everything, from the games of infancy to the most imposing fêtes of the nation; everything calls for a *creation* in this branch; its essential characteristic ought to be *universality*, whether in persons or things; the state must govern theological studies as well as all others; evangelical morality is the noblest present which the Divinity has bestowed on man; the French nation does honour to itself in rendering this homage." *The Institute,* the successor of all the academies, is proposed as the supreme school, the pinnacle of public education; it is to be at once a learned and instructing body, and the administrative organ of all other scientific and literary establishments.

Between the report of M. de Talleyrand to the Constituent Assembly and that of M. de Condorcet to the Legislative Assembly, the filiation is visible. They have travelled along the same declivity, but the space included is immense. With the latter, philoso phical ambition has given way to revolutionary excitement. A special and exclusive feeling of policy governs

the work; equality is its principle and sovereign end. "The order of nature," says Condorcet, "includes no distinctions in society beyond those of education and wealth. To establish amongst citizens an equality in fact, and to realize the equality confirmed by law, ought to be the primary object of national instruction. In every degree, and in all public establishments, the teaching should be entirely gratuitous; instruction without charge should be the first consideration in respect of social equality." The report and plan of Condorcet are entirely devoted to this tyrannical notion of equality, which penetrates even to the heart of the great national association of science and art destined to crown the edifice. "No member can belong to two classes at the same time; this is injurious to equality."

In the report of M. Daunou to the National Convention, liberty assumes a larger share than equality. He reproaches his predecessors with not having sufficiently acknowledged and secured its rights. In the plan of M. de Talleyrand, he found "too much respect for old forms, too many bonds and impediments." "Condorcet," he said, "proposed to institute in some degree an academic church." M. Daunou desires no public organization of scientific or literary instruction. The state, according to him, should only interfere with elementary and professional training. Beyond that, "liberty of education, liberty of private seminaries, liberty of method." But, with this extended notion of freedom in public instruction, M. Daunou has also his fixed idea and mania. The passion of republicanism is with him what that of equality is with M. de Condorcet.

"There is no genius," says he, "except in a republican soul. A system of public instruction can only be carried on in community with a republican government." Under the empire of such a constitution, "the most extensive means of education," he continues, "are in the establishment of national festivals;" and he devotes an entire section of his proposed bill to the enumeration and arrangement of these annual ceremonies, to the number of seven; festivals in honour of the republic, of youth, of marriage, of gratitude, of agriculture, of liberty, and of old age.

In the midst of the revolutionary tempest, all these plans and devices, alternately liberal, dangerous, or puerile, remained without results. Universal and gratuitous elementary education was decreed, but there were neither seminaries nor teachers. A system of secondary instruction was attempted, under the title of *central schools*, which, notwithstanding ingenious and promising appearances, responded neither to the traditions of teaching, the natural laws of intellectual development in man, nor the moral requirements of education. In high and special instruction, some important and celebrated associations sprang up. The Institute was founded. The mathematical and physical sciences lavished on society their services and their glory, but no great and effective combination of public teaching replaced the departed establishments. Much had been promised and expected, but nothing was done. Chimeras hovered over ruins.

The Consular government proved itself more in earnest, and effective. The law of the first of May,

1802, futile as regarded elementary teaching, incomplete and hypothetical on the higher branches, re-established, under the name and fosterage of Lyceums, a well-based system of secondary education, comprising sound principles, and securities for social influence and duration. The work, however, was deficient in originality and grandeur. Public instruction was considered simply as an administrative duty, and, under that title, was included, with all its components, in the numerous and opposite functions of the Minister of the Interior. Neither its proper rank, nor the suitable mode of its government were defined. It fell under the control of that official mechanism which knows how to regulate and direct material business, but with which the arrangements of moral order cannot amalgamate.

The Emperor Napoleon did not deceive himself on this point. Warned by those lofty and clear instincts which revealed to him the true nature of things, and the essential attributes of power, he recognized, as soon as he gave his unbiassed reflection to the subject, that public instruction could neither be yielded up entirely to private industry, nor regulated by ordinary administration, as were the domains, finances, or highways of the state. He comprehended that to give the parties intrusted with education, respect, dignity, confidence in themselves, and a spirit of devotedness to their calling, in order that these men, unassuming and weak, should feel satisfied and proud in their obscure positions, it was necessary that they should be associated and linked as it were together, so as to form a body, which might reflect on them its strength and importance. The re-

membrance of the old religious and scholastic corporations then recurred to him. But while regarding with willing admiration what had long existed with éclat, he discriminated their evil qualities, which would be more injurious now than formerly. The religious institutions were too much estranged from the government of the State, and from society itself. Through celibacy, the absence of all individual property, and many other causes, they lived almost entirely without generous interests, habits, or sentiments. Government exercised upon them an indirect, sparing, and disputed influence. Napoleon felt that, in the present day, the educational department should be laical, social, connected with family interests and property, and intimately united, save only in their special mission, with civil order and the mass of their fellow-citizens. He saw also that this body should hold closely to the State government, receive its powers from that source, and exercise them under its general control. Napoleon created the University, adapting, with admirable discernment and freedom of spirit, the maternal idea of the old educational corporations to the new state of society.

The best works cannot escape the contagion of the vices of their authors. The University was founded on the principle that education belongs to the State. The State was the Emperor. The Emperor willed, and was in possession of uncontrolled authority. The University, from its birth, embodied a system of absolute power. Beyond the institution, neither family rights, nor those of the church, nor of private industry, were acknowledged or respected. Even in the very bosom

of the establishment, there were no real guarantees for the position, dignity, and just independence of persons. If in France the Emperor was the State, in the University the head master was the Emperor. I employ expressions too absolute: the government of the University, in fact, has always sought to modify opposing rights. But whatever may be the prudence or inconsistency of men, principles bear their fruit. According to the principles of the University system, as regarded public instruction, there was no liberty for the citizens, and no responsibility of the authorities to the country.

Thus, when the Charter established free legislation in France; when the liberty of the citizens, and the responsibility of power became the common law and practice of the land, the embarrassment of the University and of the government, in respect to it, became extreme. Its maxims, rules, and traditions, no longer accorded with the general institutions. In the name of religion, of families, of liberty, and of publicity, claims were raised around and against the University which it was unable to repel without coming into collision with the constitutional system, or to admit without falsifying or mutilating itself. The power which governed it, either under the name of Head Master, Royal Council, or President, was neither a minister, nor sufficiently small and dependent to be merely the subordinate of a minister. No minister would become responsible for it, and it could not carry in itself, either with the Chambers or the public, the weight of responsibility. During six years, from 1815 to 1821, men of a superior cast, M. Royer-Collard, M. Cuvier, M. Sylvester de Sacy, and

M. Lainé, employed their talents and influence in this anomalous situation. They gained time; they saved the life of the University, but without solving the question of its constitutional existence. It was a piece, which, in the new machine of government, found neither its place nor its game.

Fortune has its combinations which seem to mock human foresight. It was under a ministry, looked upon, not without reason, as hostile to the University, and at the moment when it most dreaded an attack, that it emerged from its perplexing situation, and assumed its rank in the state. M. de Villéle had appointed the Abbé Frayssinous Head Master. Public instructions was placed under the direction of a bishop. To satisfy the clergy, and to bring them at the same time under his influence, M. de Villéle required something more. He associated the Church in the government of the State. He made the Bishop of Hermopolis minister of ecclesiastical affairs, giving him at the same time the title and functions, not only of Head Master of the University, but also of Minister of Public Instruction. Public Instruction thus became officially included amongst the great public offices, and the University entered, in the train of the Church, into all the framework and conditions of the constitutional system.

Within four years after, it made another step in advance. Everywhere dreaded and violently opposed, ecclesiastical preponderance was particularly suspected in the matter of public instruction. The liberal movement which, in 1827, displaced M. de Villéle and brought the Martignac Cabinet into office, had also

its effect upon the University. The royal ordinance of the 4th of January, 1828, in naming the new ministers, declared, "that for the future, public instruction should no longer form a part of the ministry of ecclesiastical affairs;" and on the 10th of February following, it became, in the State councils, a special and independent department, confided to M. de Vatimesnil.

This rational and prudent organization was then only ephemeral. Under M. de Polignac, party passions resumed their ascendency. The University fell back into the hands of the Church. There was again but one minister of ecclesiastical affairs and of public instruction. The Revolution of 1830 at first allowed this state of things to continue; only by an ill-judged concession to the vanity of the laical spirit, and as if to mark its victory, it changed words and displaced ranks. The University took precedence over the Church, by the appointment of a Minister of Public Instruction and Worship. It was under this title, and with these functions, that the Duke de Broglie, M. Mérilhou, M. Barthe, the Count de Montalivet, and M. Girod de L'Ain, filled the department until the formation of the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832.

In accepting the ministry of Public Instruction, I was the first to require that it should be separated from that of Worship. As a Protestant it was neither fitting that the latter should be offered to me, or that I should undertake it. I venture to think that I should have given the Catholic church no reason to complain: that I should perhaps have better understood and defended it than many of its disciples; but there are appearances

which ought never to be encountered. The administration of Public Worship was then blended with the duties of the Minister of Justice. It was, in my opinion, an error not to form it into a distinct department. Such an honour was due to the importance and dignity of religious interests. In these, our days, and after so many victories, the laical power could not too much conciliate the susceptible pride of the clergy and its leaders. It is, besides, an ill-arranged combination to place the relations of the Church with the State in the hands of its rivals or official overseers. To display mistrust is to inspire it, and the best mode of living on good terms with the Church, is to acknowledge frankly its importance, and to yield full admission to its place and purpose.

Reduced entirely to Public Instruction, the duties of the department I was about to occupy, were, in this light, very incomplete. The University was its cradle from which it had not yet issued. The Head Master of the University had assumed the title of Minister of Public Instruction in general, but without becoming so in effect. I demanded for this ministry its natural privileges and limits. On the one hand, all the great educational institutions founded in no connection with the University, the College of France, the Museum of Natural History, the School of Charters, and the schools specially applied to Oriental languages and archæology; and on the other, the establishments dedicated, not to instruction, but to the glory and advancement of science and letters,—the Institute, the various learned societies, the libraries, and all other encouragements to literature

were, from that time, placed under the authority of the minister of Public Instruction. There are still some gaps in the privileges, which of right belong to this department. Amongst others, it has not in the direction of the Fine Arts the influence that it ought to exercise. Art and literature are naturally and necessarily linked together. It is only by this intimate and habitual intercourse that they can be assured of maintaining their suitable and elevated character, — the worship of the beautiful, and its manifestation in the eyes of men. If Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo had not been scholars, passing their lives in the learned world of their age, their influence, and even their genius, could never have displayed themselves with such pure and powerful effect. Placed beyond the sphere of letters, and within the ordinary domain of administration, the arts incur a serious risk of falling under the exclusive yoke of material utility, or of the narrow caprices of the public. The department of Public Instruction has still, in this particular, and for the interest of the arts themselves, an important conquest to achieve. In a general sense, however, it received, at the time of my appointment, its legitimate extent and rational organization. From 1824 to 1830, it had been little more than an expedient. In 1832, it became, in the aggregate of our institutions, a piece of complete and regular machinery, capable of rendering to society and power, both in moral and intellectual order, the services, with which, now more than ever, they cannot afford to dispense.

The cabinet being thus constituted, and the functions

of all the ministers defined, each of us set to work to accomplish his particular mission in the common policy the success of which we desired. The Duke de Broglie entered into close negotiation with the cabinet of London, to settle finally, by the concerted action of the two powers against Antwerp, the Belgian question, which the resistance of the King of Holland to the wishes of all Europe still held in suspense. Marshal Soult and Admiral de Rigny hastened to organize, respectively, the army and fleet appointed to carry out this delicate operation. M. Thiers employed all his fertile and skilful activity in devising means for putting down commotion in the departments of the west. M. Humann, M. Barthe, M. d'Argout, and myself, undertook to prepare, without delay, the various bills as agreed to be laid before the Chambers at their approaching session, appointed to open on the 19th of November. The King's speech was a very important consideration both for the crown and the cabinet. The policy of resistance and liberty, of independence and peace, attempted from the day following the Revolution, and energetically carried on by M. Casimir Périer, was therein to be openly avowed, in the name of all the different shades of opinion now united round the throne to constitute the Government. The duty of preparing the speech was committed to me.

This task has nearly always fallen to my lot in the various cabinets of which I have been a member. A task difficult in itself, for few things can be more so than to sum up in a few sentences, at once general and precise, and significant without being compromising, the

position and policy of a government suddenly formed, and in the midst of action. A still greater difficulty lies in delivering through the royal mouth the sentiments of the king and his advisers, in consistence with the dignity and true intent of both, and in throwing aside all differences that may exist between them, so as to exhibit nothing but the harmonious operation of the power they exercise in common. Notwithstanding its embarrassments, and precisely on that account, this ordeal, which the constitutional system imposes periodically on the prince and his ministers, is sound and salutary. It reminds them on a fixed and solemn day of their mutual relations, and of the necessity they are under of showing themselves united, and of speaking and acting in mutual accordance. There is in this public manifestation of the whole government before the country, a due homage rendered to the position occupied by royalty, and a guarantee for the influence of the country in the councils of the sovereign. There is much in being compelled to appear what it is desirable that we should be in effect. Inevitable publicity often determines good conduct, and prevents many more faults than it reveals.

In November, 1832, this obligation had nothing in it of an embarrassing nature, either for King Louis-Philippe or his advisers. They were perfectly agreed upon general maxims of policy, and upon the course to adopt on the particular questions under consideration. Neither the King nor his ministers entertained any exorbitant pretensions or jealous susceptibilities which might tend to impede their intercourse. The cabinet

assembled sometimes at the residence of Marshal Soult, their president; at others, at the Tuileries, round the King, according to the nature and state of the affairs in debate. At all these meetings there was free liberty of discussion without restraint, for there were few objections to surmount. The preparation of the royal speech, therefore, presented no serious difficulty on the substance of the policy to be adopted. There remained only the obligation, always delicate, of a perfect understanding between the King and his ministers, upon the measure, compatibilities, and colouring of the language which, with reference to the orders of the day, it was necessary to hold before Europe in the name of France; and before France in the name of the government. Before submitting it to the collected cabinet, it was between the King and myself that this difficulty had to be discussed; and here I found my task a laborious one. Not only did King Louis-Philippe meditate profoundly on his royal duties and the affairs of the country, but he possessed, moreover, a singularly fertile mind, quick in apprehension, animated, and flexible; every idea and impression exercised over him, at the first moment, a predominant influence. Clear-sighted and judicious in the end he proposed to reach when speaking, he did not always foresee correctly the effect of his words upon the public to whom they were addressed, and almost exclusively occupied himself with satisfying his own idea, to which he often attached more importance than it really possessed. I submitted to him my draft of the speech in the beginning of November, and during a fortnight, upon every paragraph, and nearly upon every word, we

held discussions, incessantly abandoned and renewed, as fresh resolutions or doubts arose to contravene the decision of the preceding eve. I received daily, and often several times in a morning, little notes from the King, in which he transmitted to me the results of this perpetual fluctuation of his mind, and thus compelled me to reconstruct my own plan. Through a natural respect for monarchy, and also in the conviction that the definitive result would be advantageous, I submitted with a good grace to this long controversy, often upon insignificant points, although sufficiently animated. My expectation was not deceived. On reading over, after a lapse of twenty-seven years, and as in a chapter of ancient history, this opening speech of the session of 1832, I find it worthy of the rational government of a free people, and unless I beguile myself, all impartial judges would even to-day receive from it the same impression.

As soon as the King and myself had nearly agreed, the cabinet, to which I had imparted regularly our little debates, adopted the speech at once, with some trifling modifications.

I feel bound to remark that on inserting, with respect to the policy of resistance, the subjoined paragraph in honour of M. Casimir Périer—"this is the system that you have strengthened by your co-operation, and which was upheld with so much constancy by the able and courageous minister whose loss we deplore,"—I encountered no opposition whatever from the King. The speech was well seconded by the course of events. When the day for opening the Chambers arrived, the

19th of November, the foreign and domestic policy of the cabinet had already succeeded. The mutual understanding and action between France and England for settling the Belgian question was concluded. The French and English fleets blockaded together the coasts of Holland; the French army entered Belgium; the Dukes of Orleans and Nemours left Paris to place themselves in its ranks. The Duchess de Berri had been discovered at Nantes, and immediately transferred to Blaye. An incident very unexpected at the time, assisted the effect of these demonstrations of power. At the moment when the King entered the hall of the Palais Bourbon, and had commenced his speech, the assembly learned that a pistol-shot had just been fired at him as he passed the bridge of the Tuileries. An intense emotion was excited, as general as sudden; a moment of indignation rather than alarm. Public feeling had not yet become deadened to assassination.

I was present with my colleagues at the royal session. It cost me an effort to be there. For three weeks I had been attacked by bronchitis, which the preparation of the King's speech, with all the incidental goings and comings, the conversations and discussions to which it had given rise, seriously aggravated. I was compelled to take to my bed on returning from the opening of the Chambers, bitterly chagrined at finding myself incapable of assuming any part in the debates about to commence.

CHAPTER II.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

I CONTINUE ILL FOR SIX WEEKS.—CAPTURE OF ANTWERP.—ARREST OF HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUCHESS DE BERRI.—OF THE POLICY OF THE CABINET UNDER THIS CONTINGENCY.—I RESUME BUSINESS.—INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES OF A BILL ON ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—MY DOMESTIC LIFE.—PLANS AND PROGRESS ON THE SUBJECT OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION FROM 1789 TO 1832.—ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS—OUGHT ELEMENTARY EDUCATION TO BE COMPULSORY? SHOULD IT BE GRATUITOUS?—OF LIBERTY IN ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—OF THE OBJECTS AND LIMITS OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.—OF THE EDUCATION AND SUPPLY OF ELEMENTARY TEACHERS.—OF THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—NECESSARY CO-OPERATION OF THE CHURCH AND STATE.—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION OUGHT TO BE ESSENTIALLY RELIGIOUS.—ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES TO SECURE THE EXECUTION AND EFFICACY OF THE LAW.—MORAL MEASURES.—PROMULGATION OF THE ACT OF THE 28TH OF JUNE, 1833.—MY CIRCULAR TO ALL THE ELEMENTARY TEACHERS.—GENERAL VISIT TO THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—ESTABLISHMENT OF INSPECTORS OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.—MY COMMUNICATION WITH THE RELIGIOUS CORPORATIONS DEDICATED TO ELEMENTARY INSTRUCTION.—BROTHER ANACLET.—THE ABBÉ J. M. DE LA MENNAIS.—THE ABBÉ F. DE LA MENNAIS.—MY REPORT TO THE KING IN APRIL, 1834, ON THE EXECUTION OF THE ACT OF THE 28TH OF JUNE, 1833.—OF THE ACTUAL STATE OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

I REMAINED ill and condemned to inactivity for more than six weeks. My indisposition was so serious, that for a moment recovery appeared doubtful. It was currently reported that I had gone to Nice, and that a long sojourn there would be necessary. While I was confined to my bed, and not only action, but even con-

versation was interdicted, events unfolded themselves and debates proceeded. The two Chambers discussed and voted their addresses in reply to the speech from the throne. The concerted operation of France and England to complete the separation of Belgium and Holland attained its end. Antwerp was taken. When, on the evening of the 14th of December, the King received congratulations on this result, I was still unable to leave the house. My wife alone was the bearer of mine to the Tuileries. "I went yesterday to the palace," she wrote on the following day to her sister. "It was delightful to see the King and Queen so patriotic and paternal, so proud of the glory of our arms, so satisfied to find their children safe from danger, so unassuming in speaking of their good conduct. 'My sons have done their duty,' the Queen said to me; 'I am charmed to have it known that they can be relied on in every emergency.'" A few days later, the cabinet was called upon in the Chamber of Deputies to defend its resolution of not bringing the Duchess de Berri before the tribunals. The debate was serious. The Duke de Broglie and M. Thiers sustained the whole weight of it. I was equally excluded from contests and festivals.

I retain, however, no unpleasant reminiscences of that compulsory retirement. I was watched over with the tenderest solicitude. My colleagues in office neglected nothing to diminish the mortification I felt at being unable to bear my part in their labours, and to remove from my mind all irritating prepossessions. The Duke de Broglie, although the least demonstrative of men, is

ever delicate and scrupulous in his regards. M. Thiers, with whom I was in no particular intimacy, felt also desirous that I should place confidence in his cordial feelings, and wrote thus to my wife:—"I have wished several times, madam, to call upon M. Guizot, but have been prevented by M. de Broglie, who has positively forbidden my doing so. He fears, lest the sight of a colleague might agitate and induce him to talk too much. I have therefore abstained from visiting, in spite of my own strong desire, an associate in office I so highly esteem, and whose absence I feel more than any one else. Oblige me by conveying to him the interest I take in his present state, and my ardent wishes for his speedy recovery. We are told that we shall soon have him amongst us again. I most sincerely desire this, for his presence is indispensable to us. Tell me, I beg of you, when I may be permitted to see him." I was touched by these friendly manifestations. It is not in my nature to irritate myself even under calamities to which I may be unresigned. I sought not to aggravate my helplessness by impatience, although I submitted to it with profound regret. In the silence of my bedchamber I passed my time in reflecting on the events in progress, and on the contests in which I could take no share. I revolved within myself what I might have done or said, and felt as I should have felt had I been present. It is a controlling charm in political life that it occupies man with designs infinitely greater than himself, and mingles a sentiment of disinterestedness with the joys and sorrows he personally experiences when pursuing them. I consoled myself

under my vexation, and almost lost sight of it while giving up my solitary thoughts to those public interests, to which for the moment I was incapable of lending aid.

The question of the line of conduct already adopted, and to be pursued in future, towards the Duchess de Berri, formed the leading object of my solicitude. In November, 1831, during the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, I had taken part in the debate on the subsequent law of the 20th of April, 1832, which banished from the territory of France the members of the elder branch of the house of Bourbon, as also of the family of Bonaparte. We thought we had done much, at the time, in the name of policy and moral propriety, by confining the law to that prohibition, without inserting in it any specific penalty. There was merit in the terms of the Act, for it required on the part of the government and its supporters a strenuous effort to remove from it the ninety-first article of the penal Code—judicial prosecution and the punishment of death against any princes of the dynasties that had reigned in France, if, on returning to French soil, they should attempt to excite civil war.

Placed in collision, in November, 1832, with the occurrence thus foreseen, we discovered at once that we had not gone far enough in 1831 to protect sound policy. Judicial prosecution and Article 91 of the penal Code were not, it is true, specially inserted in the law of the 10th of April, 1832, but the question remained open. The Act itself did not determine it, neither did it confer that power on the government.

We hastened to announce in the *Moniteur*, by a royal ordinance, that "a Bill would be presented to the Chambers with exclusive reference to the Duchess de Berri." This was said to be the only method of cutting short the criminal proceedings already commenced by the Royal Court of Poictiers, and the application of the penal Code, which the law of the 10th of April had neither interdicted nor prescribed. But the course thus adopted was both difficult and dangerous in application. It is a constitutional principle that in all such cases the Chambers can only act in a preliminary sense, and by general measures—never after the event and by pronouncing judgment in individual cases. The recollections of the revolutionary times and of their legislative proscriptions greatly increased the authority of this principle in men's minds. It was easy to foresee that the Chamber of Deputies would feel little disposed to sit in direct judgment on the Duchess de Berri, while the opposition would gladly profit by such an opportunity of displaying their objections or their temper. We felt this so strongly that the decree announcing the projected Bill was never acted upon. Instead of bringing the whole question before the Chambers, the government undertook to dispose of it by forbidding all judicial process or penal application in the instance of the Duchess de Berri, and by thus confining any subsequent debate to a fact accomplished and their own responsibility in so concluding it. In an embarrassing predicament they adopted, without doubt, the only line of conduct prescribed and permitted by moral and political consistency, by equity and sound judgment.

But the difficulty would have been considerably diminished, and perhaps the resolution of the cabinet more confirmed, if the law of the 10th of April, 1832, while banishing the princes of the deposed royal families from French soil, had expressly provided that if they violated this interdiction they should not be personally subject to any judicial process, but be placed at the disposal of government, which might remove or retain them on its own discretion and responsibility. Against this exceptional and entirely political legislation equality in the eye of the law was set forward. Now there are cases in which equality before the law is a fallacy which equally outrages justice and policy, morality and reason. They are very superficial thinkers who declare that in a monarchy the inviolability of the monarch is a fiction. It is, on the contrary, the simple acknowledgment of a moral truth which human instinct has foreseen, and which has always sprung up again from the most overwhelming storms under which it may have succumbed for the moment. When a single person has become the permanent symbol of a supreme social power, nothing can reduce him again to the condition of a subject, and the fiction lies with those who attempt to confine him within the common privileges. Nations may exist without kings, but kings are not open to trial. History is at hand to teach us that the pretence of such a proceeding has invariably led to lamentable crimes; for public conviction has ever recognized in these sentences of pretended justice the blows of personal hatred or fear. Without being inviolable as the king himself, the members of regal families are so placed, that it

becomes, both in a moral and political view, extremely difficult and injurious to bring them under the law; above all, when the throne they surrounded has yielded to a tempest, and they assume the air of vindicating a right, by attempting its restoration. There is, between their rank as princes, and their condition as men fallen and proscribed, a contrast which inspires more personal interest than their enterprises excite anger and alarm. If acquitted, they are almost victors; if condemned, they are the martyrs of their cause and courage. In 1832 and 1836 the government and the chambers acted under the influence of this just moral appreciation, when, after the arrest of the Duchess de Berri at Nantes, and of Prince Louis-Napoleon at Strasbourg, we determined not to consign them to the tribunals; but the law of the 10th of April, 1832, by its timid silence, rendered our resolution more difficult and inconclusive. When we are in the right, we are more so than we either believe or venture to display. There is strength as well as dignity in proclaiming openly in its principles, and accepting fully in its consequences, the policy we have determined to exercise. If we had found ourselves already sanctioned by the declared law, we should probably have at once removed Madame de Berri from France, and by so doing have relieved the monarchy of 1830 from serious embarrassments without the slightest addition to its dangers.

Such, from the first moment, were the opinion and desire of King Louis-Philippe. He was dissatisfied with the law of the 10th of April, 1832, neither considering it necessary for the safety of France, nor for

his own security, and injurious because not indispensable. His ministers had not proposed it, and, in spite of the modifications it underwent during the debates in the two Chambers, he hesitated long before he confirmed it, from a sincere detestation of the least appearance even of words that might imply proscription and confiscation. When it became necessary to put the law in force, the King was desirous that it should be confined to a strict interpretation of the legal text. The act banished Charles X. and his descendants from the territory of France. It required only that the Duchess de Berri should be immediately conveyed beyond the frontiers. "No one, in fact," he said to me, "wishes to bring her to trial. We know not what difficulties may arise from her detention here. Princes are as troublesome in prison as at liberty. People conspire to set them free as readily as to follow them, and their captivity excites more ferment amongst their partisans than their presence." But in the state of public feeling in 1832, after the conspiracies and insurrections of Paris and La Vendée, no cabinet would have ventured to conduct the Duchess de Berri, on the instant, in freedom to our frontiers; and while the King delivered his opinion, he by no means required us to act upon it. Mistrust is the scourge of revolutions: it stupefies people even when not urging them to the commission of fresh crimes. In common with my colleagues, I judged it impossible, in 1833, to set Madame de Berri at liberty. Ignorant or unreflecting minds may imagine that the incidents of her imprisonment were favourable to the monarchy of 1830. I am convinced that

we should have served it better by acting with generous boldness, and that all classes — public, chambers, and cabinet—would have evinced sound and lofty policy by seconding the ineffectual but clear-sighted opinion of the King.

By the commencement of January, I felt myself in a condition to resume active life, and began by presenting to the Chamber of Deputies the Bill, which since the formation of the Cabinet I had been preparing, on the subject of public instruction. I was still too weak to be able to read in the tribune either the exposition of my plan or the Bill itself. M. Renouard, one of my most intimate friends in the Chamber, and on whom I depended, with good reason, as my second in the debate, undertook the duty for me. I entered with pleasure and confidence on this important question, so often argued, but never decided, and which I now considered myself in the course of bringing to an effective solution. I little expected the trials that awaited me before I should be called upon to discuss the measure I now proposed.

I have no desire to intrude my private life and feelings on public attention. The more they are pro found and tender, the less are they disposed to exhibit themselves, for I cannot show them in their intense reality. Kings exhibit their crown jewels to the inspection of the curious; but we do not parade our private treasures, the value of which is only known to the owners. Yet when the fatal day arrives in which these invaluable possessions are wrested from us, it would be evincing towards them a want of respect and

faith not to declare the esteem in which they were held, and the void they have left. I have been strongly attached to political life, and have applied myself to it with ardour. I have devoted to public duties, without hesitation, the sacrifice and efforts they demanded from me; but these pursuits have ever been far indeed from satisfying my desires. It is not that I complain of the incidental trials. Many public servants have spoken with bitterness of the disappointments they have experienced, the reverses they have undergone, the severities of fortune, and the ingratitude of men. I have nothing of the kind to say, for I have never acknowledged such sentiments. However violently I may have been stricken, I have never found men more blind or ungrateful, or my political destiny more harsh than I expected. It has had alternately, and in great abundance, its joys and sorrows: such is the law of humanity. But it has been in the happiest days, and in the midst of the most brilliant successes of my career, that I have found the insufficiency of public life. The political world is cold and calculating; the affairs of government are lofty, and powerfully impress the thought; but they cannot fill the soul, which has often more varied and more pressing aspirations than those of the most ambititious politician. It longs for a happiness more intimate, more complete, and more tender than that which all the labours and triumphs of active exertion and public importance can bestow. What I know to-day, at the end of my race, I have felt when it began, and during its continuance; even in the midst of great undertakings, domestic

affections form the basis of life, and the most brilliant career has only superficial and incomplete enjoyments, if a stranger to the happy ties of family and friendship.

This felicity I thoroughly enjoyed in 1832, when I took my place in the cabinet of the 11th of October. I permit myself here to indulge, not without some degree of hesitation, in the melancholy pleasure of citing an evidence, which says more on this point than I either would or could express myself. On the 22nd of October my wife wrote thus to her sister: "I know that affairs are complicated, stormy, and perhaps dangerous; nevertheless, I am rejoiced to see my husband in office. Before our marriage, he once asked me if I should ever be dismayed at the vicissitudes of his destiny. I still see his eyes beaming upon me with delight, as I replied that he might assure himself I should always passionately enjoy his triumphs, and never heave a sigh over his defeats. What I said to him then, I have proved; what I promised, I will perform. I am anxious and uneasy on account of the obstacles, the vexations, the struggles, and dangers he will find in his path; but in spite of all, I am confident and content, for he is both. My life, besides, is not broken up, as when he was minister of the Interior. I see him much less than I desire, but still I see him. My chamber adjoins his cabinet. He is quite well, although he works incessantly. Moreover, his present office is agreeable to him. He finds himself again, with much pleasure, in the midst of the companions and avocations of his youth. Public instruction relieves him from politics in

general. This is a great advantage. In conclusion, my dear friend, if God spares us to each other, I shall always be, in the midst of every trial and apprehension, the happiest of beings."

Within less than three months after the date of this letter, on the 11th of January, 1833, my wife presented me with a son, her most ardent desire in the midst of her happiness, and the object, enjoyed but for a moment, of her young maternal pride. Eleven days after her lying-in, she got up, full of confidence, in which all around her participated. M. Royer-Collard happened to call upon me. She insisted on seeing him, and conversed gaily. On leaving the house, he said to me, "She seems quite well, but take care of her nevertheless. The spirit is stronger than the body. She is one of those heroic natures who never suspect evil until it has conquered them." Three days after, she was attacked by fever, and compelled to resume her bed. Within six weeks, on the 11th of March, I had to mourn her loss.

It is with heavy calamity as with happiness: we can neither speak of it, nor remain absolutely silent. I hastened to resume my labours, and returned to the cabinet Councils and the Chambers as soon as I could do so with propriety and effect. Every day, when my public duties were over, I remained alone with my children, my mother, and often with the Duchess de Broglie, whose sympathetic friendship I found under this trial extremely soothing and acceptable. M. Royer-Collard also came occasionally to see me; I enjoyed his conversation, without replying to him, and without

any observations on his part relative to myself. Towards the end of the following July, while he was residing on his estate at Châteauvieux, I wrote to him, without doubt under a fit of bitter grief, and with less self-command than I had ever before exhibited. He answered me: "Your letter, my dear friend, has not simply affected me; it has carried me along with you into the same abyss in which you are plunged. I miscalculated its depth. The empire you have over yourself, and which seemed to control not only your feelings but your words, without entirely deceiving me, had in some degree checked my penetration. I understand the state you are in as much as it is possible to do so, not having closely estimated the full extent of your happiness. I know enough to sympathise with your feelings and your sorrow. I feel confident that time, far from turning them to despair, will, without eradicating or falsifying them, at least render them supportable. You have before you a long life, the education of your children, a career scarcely open, which you are sure to do honour to by services rendered to the cause of humanity. These are powerful incentives to divert you from your grief. You will admit them by degrees, and allow them to operate. Although my position differs as much from yours as the close of day from the full meridian, it resembles it in this—that I live like you, and for a much longer time, in perfect solitude, thinking much of the past, very little of the future, scarcely dealing with the present, and reviewing silently my wasted life, wherein I find much instruction, from which I shall draw no profit."

This letter, at once sympathetic and encouraging, produced a favourable effect, and even now I cannot re-peruse it without emotion. It was written on the 6th of August, 1833.

It was a propitious circumstance for me at this sad epoch, that the bill on elementary education passed into the order of the day, and thus demanded my most assiduous attention. In assuming the ministry of Public Instruction, I took a special interest in that particular branch. Because I have opposed democratic theories, and resisted popular passions, it has been often said that I had no love for the people, no sympathy for their miseries, instincts, necessities, and desires. In public, as in private life, there are more classes of affections than one. If what is called love for the people means, to participate in all their impressions, to study their tastes rather than their interests, to be on all occasions ready to think, feel, and act with them, —I admit at once this forms no part of my disposition. I love the people with a profound, but at the same time independent and somewhat anxious attachment. I wish to serve them, but am no more disposed to become their slave than to use them for any advantage but their own. I respect while I love them, and this very respect restrains me from deceiving them, or from aiding them to deceive themselves. Sovereignty is yielded up to them; complete happiness is promised; they are told that they have a right to all the powers of society, and all the enjoyments of life. I have believed that they had both the right and necessity of becoming capable and worthy of being free; that is to

say, of exercising in their public and private allotment the share of influence which the laws of God permit to man in human life and society. For this reason, while sympathising deeply with the physical privations of the people, I have been more pre-eminently moved and engrossed by their moral wants; holding it for certain that, in proportion as the latter are ameliorated, they will struggle the more effectually against the former; and that to improve the condition of men we must first purify, strengthen, and enlighten their minds.

It is to the strong conviction of this truth that the importance universally attached to popular teaching in the present day is to be ascribed. Other instincts, less pure and salutary, are mixed up with it: pride, a presumptuous confidence in the merit and power of intelligence alone, immeasurable ambition, and the passion of a pretended equality. But in spite of this confusion in the sentiments by which it is recommended, in spite of its intrinsic difficulties, and of the uneasiness it still excites, popular teaching is not the less, in the age in which we live, and both on principles of right and fact, an act of justice towards the people, and a necessary requisition of society. During his mission in Germany, one of those men who have the most profoundly studied this great question, M. Eugène Rendu, inquired of a learned and respectable prelate, the Cardinal de Diepenbrock, Prince Bishop of Breslau, "whether, according to his idea, the diffusion of education amongst the masses would produce any danger to society." "Never," replied the Cardinal, "if religious feeling assigns to education its proper end

and governs its course. Besides which, the question is no longer in debate; it is distinctly laid down. When the waggon is on the rails, what remains? To guide it."

In 1832, there was something more for us to do than merely to guide the waggon. It was necessary to give it effective and durable motion. When we examine closely what has taken place between 1789 and 1832, in regard to elementary education, we are equally impressed with the power of the idea and the futility of the efforts made to realize it. It engages the attention of all who govern, or aspire to govern France. When eclipsed for a moment, it is only under the pressure of more urgent prepossessions, and speedily reappears. It finds its way even to the hearts of the parties and authorities who seem to fear it most. Between 1792 and 1795, the National Convention issued seven decrees for the establishment of preparatory schools, prescribing their nature and regulation; mere words, barren of produce, though sincerely meant. The Empire said and thought little of rudiments; secondary instruction was the favourite object of its solicitude and skilful superintendence. Nevertheless, we encounter a man in the Imperial councils, unassuming in rank, but of a mind and reputation sufficiently exalted to draw public attention to his labours and ideas, whatever might be their object. M. Cuvier travelled through Holland, Germany, and Italy, and on his return, described the public educational establishments he had visited, particularly the elementary schools of Holland, the sound practical

organization of which had strongly impressed him. A lively interest was immediately excited in favour of these schools, which led to much reflection, conversation, and regretful comparisons. The Empire fell; the Restoration succeeded; the great political contests recommenced: but in the midst of their clamour, the government of public instruction passed into the hands of men who sincerely desired the good of the people without undue adulation. M. Royer-Collard became director; M. Cuvier exercised an important influence. They applied themselves to the increase, improvement, and effective superintendence of elementary schools. The King issued decrees commanding and regulating the co-operation of local authorities and sympathies. The Council of Public Instruction carried on an unremitting correspondence to insure the execution of these ordinances. New methods were announced in Europe with considerable stir; mutual teaching and simultaneous teaching—the systems of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster. Some minds were excited to enthusiasm, others to uneasiness. Without taking any decided part, either in adoption or denial, the Council received, encouraged, and superintended all.

Political power changed hands, passing over to the party that distrusted this liberal impulse; but while they humoured the suspicions, and made fatal concessions to the demands of their adherents, the intelligent leaders of this party had no desire to be looked upon as enemies to national education. They felt that a force was therein comprised which would not suffer itself to be strangled, and endeavoured, by concession, to turn it to

their own advantage. Between 1821 and 1826, eight royal decrees, countersigned by M. Corbière, minister of the Interior, authorized, in fourteen departments, religious associations, honestly devoted to elementary instruction, and thus established, in point of fact, a certain number of new schools. The Brethren of Christian Instruction, founded in Brittany by the Abbé J. M. de la Mennais; the Brethren of Christian Doctrine of Strasbourg, Nancy, and Valence; the Brethren of St. Joseph, in the department of the Somme; the Brethren of Christian Instruction of the Holy Spirit, in five departments of the west, all date from, and reflect honour on this period. Another political shock carried back the government of France into other ranks. The Martignac ministry replaced the Villéle cabinet. One of the first cares of the new minister of Public Instruction, M. de Vatimesnil, was not only to confer additional encouragement on the elementary schools, but to restore to their administration the decrees called forth by M. Cuvier in 1816 and 1820. The fatal crisis of the Restoration approached; its evil genius prevailed in its general politics. Called in November 1829 to the cabinet of the Prince de Polignac, as minister of Public Instruction, M. Guernon de Ranville proposed, nevertheless, excellent measures for the extension of elementary schools, and the introduction of a superior class of teachers. He was met by doubts, objections, and timid but repeated resistance. He persisted, however, and at his request, the King, Charles X., signed a decree, remarkable, not only for its practical conditions, but for the official expression of the ideas and

sentiments by which they were accompanied. It cannot be said that from 1814 to 1830, elementary instruction suffered nothing from political attacks, but still it did not completely perish in the dangerous contact. Whether from equity or prudence, the very powers that suspected its intentions felt called upon to view it with a kindly eye, and to second its progress.

The government of 1830 was bound to be, and proved itself, from its origin, highly favourable to elementary instruction. M. Barthe, under the ministry of M. Laffitte, and M. de Montalivet, under that of M. Casimir Périer, hastened to bring forward, one in the Chamber of Peers, the other in the Chamber of Deputies, bills to promote the rapid increase of primary schools, bestowing on them securities for the future, and infusing into this first stage of instruction the liberty promised by the Charter. The government and the chambers vied with each other in the promotion of this object. At the moment when these bills were introduced, two spontaneous propositions emanated from the Chamber of Deputies, conceived in principles differing in some degree, but inspired by the same spirit and leading to a uniform design. M. Daunou drew up a report on one of the bills, distinguished by profoundly liberal feeling, a language skilfully measured, and a visible dislike, though at the same time discreetly restrained, for the Imperial University. But none of these bills were subjected even to debate. The movement was stamped, the obstacles swept away, the public impatient to see elementary education finally established. When the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, as-

sumed office, the work was on all sides demanded, and solemnly promised, but scarcely yet in operation.

I had around me in the Royal Council of Public Instruction all the lights and supports I could possibly desire for its full accomplishment. Invested in letters, in science, and in the world's opinion, with that authority so liberally conceded, which superior talent and long experience confer, the members of this Council were, moreover, my literary associates and friends. We lived in close and mutual intimacy. Whatever might be the difference of our studies and labours, we had all, on the subject of national education, the same ideas and desires. M. Villemain and M. Cousin, M. Poisson and M. Thénard, M. Guéneau de Mussy and M. Rendu, engaged with as much interest as myself in the measure we were preparing together. M. Cousin, during his travels in Germany in 1831, and in the able report published on his return, had studied and carefully laid down all the incidental questions. I doubt if they were ever more seriously debated than in our private council before the introduction of the bill.

The first point, and one which, not only in my estimation, but in that of many sound thinkers, still remains undecided, was, whether the elementary instruction of all children should be an absolute obligation imposed by the law on their parents, and supported by specific penalties in case of neglect, as adopted in Prussia and in the greater portion of the German States. I have nothing to say in respect to the countries where this rule has been long established, and acknowledged by national sentiment. There it has certainly produced

beneficial results. But I must observe that it is almost exclusively confined to nations hitherto exacting little on the question of liberty, and that it has originated with those with whom, through the Reformation of the sixteenth century, the civil power is also in matters of religion, or touching upon religious interests, the sovereign authority. The proud susceptibility of free peoples, and the strong mutual independence of temporal and spiritual power, would accommodate themselves badly to this coercive action of the state on the domestic economy of families: where not sanctioned by tradition, the laws would fail to introduce it, for either they would be confined to an empty command, or to compel obedience they would have recourse to proscriptions and inquisitorial searches, hateful to attempt, and almost impossible to execute, especially in a great country. The National Convention tried, or rather decreed this, in 1793, and amongst all its acts of tyranny, this, at least, remained without effect.

Popular instruction is at present, in England, whether on the part of national and municipal authorities, or of simple citizens, the object of persevering zeal and exertion. No one proposes to enforce the obligation on parents by law. The system prospers in the United States of America, where local governments and private societies make great sacrifices to increase and improve the schools; but no efforts are attempted to intrude into the bosoms of families to recruit the scholars by compulsion. It forms a characteristic and redounds to the honour of a free people, that they are at the same time confiding and patient; that they

rely on the empire of enlightened reason and well-understood interests, and know how to wait their results. I care little for regulations that bear the impress of the convent or the barrack-room. I therefore decidedly expunged constraint from my bill on elementary education, and none of my fellow-labourers insisted on its being retained, not even those who regretted the omission.

Next to the question of compulsory elementary education, came that of free primary instruction. Here, indeed, there could be no doubt. The Charter had promised liberty on this point, and it was not in regard to the first principles of instruction that this promise could give rise to opposite interpretations or lengthened disputes. No one thought of demanding that elementary education should be entirely committed to private industry, evidently incapable of furnishing the necessary supply, and little tempted to undertake it. The labour is immense, and without brilliant perspectives. The interference of the state here becomes indispensable. A free competition between the government and private individuals, private and public schools opened side by side, and under the same regulations, comprised all that the most exacting liberals required, and produced no opposition from the stanchest supporters of power.

A third question gave rise to more discussion. In the public schools, should elementary instruction be absolutely gratuitous and supplied by the state to all children of the soil? This was the dream of generous spirits. Under the constitution of 1791, the Constituent

Assembly had decreed that "a system of public instruction should be created and organized, common to every citizen, and gratuitous with regard to those branches of education indispensable to all men." The National Convention, while maintaining this principle, fixed the salaries of the tutors at a *minimum* of 1200 francs. Experience has proved the vanity of these promises, as irrational as they were impracticable. The state is bound to offer elementary instruction to all families, and to give it to those who have not the means of paying for it; and thus it does more for the moral life of the people than it can effect for their material condition. This I consider the true principle of the question, and this I adopted in my bill.

These general and in some degree preliminary points being disposed of, there remained others of a more special character, the solution of which formed the text and scope of the bill. What were to be the objects and limits of elementary instruction? How were the public institutions to be formed and recruited? What authorities were to be charged with the superintendence of the elementary schools? What should be the means and securities for the effective execution of the act?

Amongst the feelings which may animate a nation there is one, the absence of which would be much to be deplored if it existed not, but which we should take care neither to flatter nor excite where we find it in exercise, —the sentiment of ambition. I honour aspiring spirits. Much is to be expected from them provided they cannot easily attempt all they desire to accomplish. And as, in our days, of all ambitions the most ardent if

not the most apparent, especially amongst the industrial classes, is the ambition of intelligence, from which they look for the gratifications of self-love and the means of fortune—it is that, above all others, the development of which, while we treat it with indulgence, we should watch over and direct with unceasing care. I know nothing at present more injurious to society, or more hurtful to the people themselves, than the small amount of ill-directed popular erudition, and the vague, incoherent, and false, although at the same time active and powerful ideas with which it fills their heads.

To contend with this danger, I distinguished in my proposed bill two degrees of primary education. The one elementary and universally required in the most remote rural districts, and for the humblest of social conditions; the other more elevated, and destined for the working population, who in towns and cities have to deal with the necessities and tastes of civilization more complicated, wealthy, and exacting. I confined elementary instruction strictly within the simplest and most extensively practised branches of knowledge. To the primary instruction of a higher order, I assigned greater scope and variety, and while pre-arranging its principal objects, the bill added, "that it might receive the development which should be considered suitable, according to the wants and resources of particular localities." I thus secured the most extended advances to primary instruction where they would be most useful and natural, without introducing them in quarters where their inutility would be perhaps their least defect. The Chamber of Deputies required that the prospect of a

variable and indefinite extension should be left open to primary elementary instruction as well as to primary superior instruction. I did not feel myself bound to contend obstinately against this amendment, which met with almost general approbation; but it indicated a very slight conception of the end proposed in the bill by distinguishing the two degrees of primary education. It is precisely on account of its universal necessity that primary elementary instruction ought to be extremely simple and nearly always uniform. It was enough for social distinctions and the spirit of ambition in popular teaching to open schools in the same class of a superior order. A disposition to extend, from a mere idea rather than from absolute need, the first principles of instruction, is unworthy of legal encouragement. The object of the laws is to provide what is necessary, not to step in advance of what may become possible; their mission is to regulate the elements of society, not to excite them indiscriminately.

The education of the teachers themselves is evidently a most important point in a law for popular instruction. To meet this, I adopted, without hesitation, the system of primary normal schools commenced in France in 1810, and which already, in 1833, numbered forty-seven establishments of this nature, created by the voluntary efforts of the departments or towns, and encouraged by the government. I formed them into a general and compulsory institution. In the actual state, and with the essentially laical character of our present society, this was the only method of securing at all times a sufficient number of masters for elementary

instruction, properly trained to their required duties. It furnishes, moreover, an intellectual career to those classes of the population who have little before them on their entry into life beyond employments of physical labour, and introduces a moral influence amongst large communities, over whom, in the present day, power seldom acts except by tax-gatherers, commissaries of police, and gend'armes. Undoubtedly the education of the tutors in the normal schools in which they are trained, and their influence when they are thus trained, may be defective and injurious: there is no institution, however good in itself, which, ill-directed, may not turn to evil, and which, even under sound regulation, is exempt from inconvenience and danger. But this is no more than the common condition of all human undertakings; and not one would ever be accomplished if we did not resign ourselves to the acceptance of its faults, and to the necessity of unremitting watchfulness lest the tares should overrun the field and choke the grain.

While converting these elementary normal schools into a public and legalized institution, I was far from seeking to destroy or even to weaken the other nurseries of teachers supplied by religious associations dedicated to popular education. On the contrary, I desired also that the latter should extensively develop themselves, and that a wholesome competition should be established between them and the laical seminaries. I even wished to go a step beyond, and to confer on the religious communities so employed a special mark of confidence and respect. In the greater part of the royal ordinances issued between 1821 and 1826, for the establishment of

associations of this nature, and ore mparticularly for that of the Congregation for the advancement of Christian Knowledge, founded by the Abbé de la Mennais in the departments of Brittany; for another under the same denomination at Valence, and for the Brethren of St. Joseph, in the department of the Somme, it was provided that "the certificate of capability required from all elementary teachers should be delivered to every brother of these various congregations, on sight of the particular letter of obedience transmitted to him by the superior general of the establishment to which he belonged." It appeared to me that in this release from a fresh examination accorded to the members of religious societies, formally acknowledged and authorized by the state as popular teachers, there was nothing beyond what was perfectly just and consistent, and I would readily have inserted it in my bill; but it would have been assuredly rejected by the public of that day as well as by the Chambers. The debate that sprang up when we went into an examination of the authorities to be intrusted with the superintendence of the elementary schools, clearly indicated the prevailing spirit.

The state and the church, on the question of popular instruction, are the only effective authorities. This is not a conjecture founded on general considerations; it is a fact historically demonstrated. The only countries and times in which public education has really prospered have been those where the church or state, or both in conjunction, have considered its advancement their business and duty. Holland and Germany, whether Catholic or Protestant, and the United States

of America, may be readily cited as evidences. The accomplishment of a similar work requires the ascendency of general and permanent power, such as that of the state and its enactments; or of another moral authority ever present and equally enduring,—the church and its militia.

But while the action of the church and the state is indispensable for the diffusion and solid establishment of public education, it becomes equally important, to render such education really good and socially profitable, that this action should be profoundly religious. I do not mean that religious instruction should merely take its place there, and outward practices be observed. A nation is not religiously educated on such limited and mechanical conditions. Popular education ought to be given and received in the bosom of a religious atmosphere, in order that corresponding impressions and habits may penetrate from every side. Religion is not a study or an exercise to which a particular place or hour can be assigned. It is a faith, a law which ought to make itself felt everywhere and at all times; and on no other condition can it exercise the full extent of its salutary influence on the minds and actions of men.

Thus, in elementary schools, the sentiment of religion ought to be habitually present. If the priest mistrusts or separates from the tutor, or if the tutor looks upon himself as the independent rival, not the faithful auxiliary of the priest, the moral value of the school is lost, and it is on the verge of becoming a danger.

When I presented my bill, and even before expe-

rience had imparted to my mind its valuable light, I felt thoroughly convinced of these truths. They had regulated my labours; although from an instinctive estimate of public prejudices I adopted and applied them with circumspection. It was upon the preponderating and combined action of church and state that I relied for the establishment of elementary instruction. Now, the prevailing fact I encountered in the Chamber of Deputies and in the country at large was precisely a sentiment of suspicion and almost of hostility against both. In the schools they dreaded above all things the influence of the priests and of the central power. The principal object of solicitude was to protect beforehand, and by legal enactment, the free action of the municipal authorities, and the total independence of the tutors in reference to the clergy. The opposition openly advocated that system, and the conservative party, too often governed in their inmost feelings and almost unconsciously, by the very ideas they dread, combated it without energy. I had proposed that the curate or pastor should by right be a member of the committee appointed in every township to superintend the school, and that the minister of Public Instruction should hold the exclusive appointment of the tutors. In the Chamber of Deputies both these provisions were thrown out in the first debate, and it required the vote of the Chamber of Peers and my own perseverance in a second discussion to secure their retention in the act. There seemed to be considerable uneasiness as to the spirit that might possess the tutors. Much was said on the necessity of placing them under effectual control,

and great efforts were made to weaken or remove altogether from the schools the interference of church or state; in fact, to take away the only authorities capable of rooting out the pernicious seeds which the age had planted there with overflowing hands.

Notwithstanding these combats and mistaken objections, I had no right, if I speak candidly, to complain in this particular instance, either of the Chambers or the public. The bill on elementary education was received, discussed, and carried favourably, without material alteration. There remained only the great trial under which all preceding laws on this question had given way. How was it to be carried out?

It required two distinct modes of proceeding;—administrative and moral measures. It was necessary that the provisions of the act, for the creation, maintenance, and superintendence of the schools, and for the condition of the tutors, should become substantial and permanent facts. It was equally essential that the tutors themselves should be fully imbued with the understanding and spirit of the law of which they were to become the final and true executors.

With regard to administrative measures, the law had foreseen and provided the most essential. Not confining itself to ordaining in every township throughout the kingdom the establishment of elementary schools, whether primary or superior, it had decreed that a suitable residence should in all places be provided for the teachers; and that when the ordinary revenues of the district might be found insufficient, the necessary provision should be levied by two special and compulsory

taxes,—one to be voted by the municipal councils, and the other by the general councils of the department; or, in default of these votes, by a royal decree. If even these local imposts should prove inadequate, the minister of Public Instruction was empowered to make up the deficiency by a grant drawn from the credit annually carried to the account of elementary education in the state budget. The permanent existence of the schools and the means of supplying their natural wants were thus secured, independently of the intelligence and zeal of the populations for whose benefit they were instituted, while at the same time the central power could never find itself disarmed in presence of their evil designs or apathy.

An obstacle of considerable weight opposed itself to the effectual and regular execution of these arrangements. They required the co-operation of the general government of the state, represented in the several localities by the prefects and their subordinates; and also of the special superintendents of public education, embodied in the rectors and functionaries of the University. Every one knows how difficult it is to unite together for one common object a double series of public agents, exercising opposite duties and acting under different heads. After coming to an understanding on these points with M. Thiers, at that time minister of the Interior, I addressed detailed instructions to the prefects and rectors, explaining to all their particular duties in the execution of the new law, and the conditions under which they were to act in concert. I went a step beyond this. At my instance it was decided in a

cabinet Council, that elementary instruction should constitute annually, in each department, the object of a special budget, to be included in the general estimate of supply for that department; and which should also, every year, be separated from it, and forwarded to the minister of Public Instruction for his examination, as the general budget was submitted to the secretary of the minister of the Interior.

I hereby accomplished a double end. On the one hand, I placed, in every locality, primary instruction, its necessities, resources, and expenditure, apart and in bold relief; thus constituting it a real and permanent local institution, invested with rights, and the object of special superintendence. On the other hand, while securing for elementary education the co-operation of the general government, I connected it closely with the duties of the minister of Public Instruction, as the first step in the comprehensive scheme which the genius of the Emperor Napoleon had founded under the title of *University of France*, the grandeur and harmony of which I ardently desired to maintain by adapting it to a free system, and to the general principles of state government.

I could never have carried out this somewhat complicated design, had I not found in M. Thiers that enlargement of mind and devotion to the public good which silence the suspicious rivalries of office, and the influence of narrow personal jealousies. He acceded frankly to the trifling alterations I proposed in the usual routine of the ministry of the Interior, and facilitated this common action in our respective departments, which

the new law on elementary education required for its prompt and complete success.

Eight days after the formation of the cabinet, as soon as I began to occupy myself with this bill, and to prepare it for the Royal Council, as also for its future agents, I ordered a periodical list to be drawn up under the title of *General Manual of Primary Instruction*, with the view of placing at once under the eyes of the teachers, administrators, and inspectors of schools, the facts, documents, and ideas, which might interest or enlighten them. When the act passed, I caused five elementary manuals to be arranged and published as guides to the teachers in the restricted course of instruction, the limits and objects of which were expressly indicated. I lost no time in providing for the intellectual wants of these schools and their masters, whose material necessities, if not fully satisfied, were at least protected from destitution and oblivion.

The best laws, instructions, and books, avail but little, if the hearts of the parties charged with their promulgation are not interested in the mission confided to them; and if they do not second it with a certain amount of enthusiasm and faith. I neither undervalue legislative labour nor the mechanism of administration. Though insufficient, they are not the less necessary. They are the plans and scaffoldings of the building to be constructed; but the workmen, the intelligent and devoted artificers, are infinitely more important. Above all other considerations, men must be formed and adapted to the service of ideas, if we wish to convert the latter into real and living facts. I endeavoured to

penetrate even to the very soul of popular teachers, and to excite amongst them enlightened notions and an affectionate respect for the task to which they were called. Within three weeks after the act on elementary education had been published, I forwarded it directly to 39,300 masters of schools, accompanied by a letter in which I not only explained to them its bearings and conditions, but endeavoured also to raise their feelings to the moral level of their humble position in the social scale, without suggesting to them either a pretext or a temptation for soaring above it. I required them to acknowledge to me personally the receipt of this letter, and to state the impression it had left on their minds. Thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty answers reached me in reply, many of which led me to conclude that I had not always knocked in vain at the doors of these unpretending abodes, where thousands of obscure children were destined to receive from an unknown individual, the first, and in many instances, the only scholastic lessons of their lives. This experiment, joined to others, has taught me, that when we wish to act with more than ordinary power upon men, we ought not to be afraid of pointing out to them an object, or of addressing them in a language, above their situation and habits; neither should we feel discouraged if many amongst them fail to respond to these unaccustomed invitations. They attract a far greater number of minds than they repulse, and we may still believe in the virtue of the seed, even when the fruits fail to appear.

When I conceived the idea of this circular letter to the teachers, I mentioned it to M. de Rémusat, and begged

him to draw it up for me. As I received it from him, it was despatched to its destination and soon after published. It gratifies me to repeat this here. Rare friendships survive mental doubts and the troubles of life, even when they seem to have suffered from them.[1]

Another plan, unforeseen and difficult of execution, appeared to me necessary in order to establish relations with the teachers dispersed throughout France, to know them really, and to act upon them in other ways than by casual and empty words. One month after the promulgation of the new law, I ordered a general inspection of all the elementary schools in the kingdom, public or private. I desired not only to verify the external and material facts which usually form the object of statistical inquiries on the question of primary instruction,—such as the number of schools and scholars, their classification, their age, and the incidental expenses of the service,—but I particularly directed the inspectors to study the interior economy of the schools, the aptitude, zeal, and conduct of the teachers, their relations with the pupils, the families, and the local authorities, civil and religious; in a word, the moral state of that branch of education, and its results. Facts of this nature cannot be ascertained at a distance, by means of correspondence, or descriptions. Special visits, personal communication, and a close examination of men and things are indispensable to this just estimate and understanding. Four hundred and ninety persons, the greater number of whom were functionaries of every order in the University, gave themselves up during four months to

[1] See Historic Documents, No. II.

this arduous investigation. Thirty-three thousand four hundred and fifty-six schools were actually visited, and morally described in the reports addressed to me by the inspectors. One amongst the number, with whose rare ability and indefatigable zeal I had long been familiar, M. Lorain, now an honorary rector, drew up from these collected reports a Table of elementary instruction in France, in 1833, even more remarkable for the moral and practical views therein developed, than for the number and variety of facts comprised. This laborious undertaking not only had the effect of giving me a more complete and precise knowledge of the condition and real necessities of elementary instruction, but it furnished the public, in the most remote corners of the country, with a living instance of the active solicitude of the government for popular education. At the same time it powerfully stimulated the teachers, by impressing on them a sense of the interest attached to their office, and of the vigilance with which they were overlooked.

Two years later, on my proposition, a royal decree transformed this casual and single inspection of the elementary schools into a permanent arrangement. In every district, an inspector was appointed to visit the schools at stated periods, and to communicate fully to the minister, the rectors, the prefects, and the general and municipal councils, their condition and wants. Since that time, and throughout repeated debates, whether in the Chambers or in the local and elective councils, the utility of this institution has become so apparent, that at the request of a majority of the councils, an inspector has been established in every district, and

the periodical inspection of elementary schools has taken its place in the administration of public instruction as one of the most effective guarantees of their sufficiency and progress.[1]

It has sometimes been a mistake of power when it enters on an important work to wish to carry it out alone, and to mistrust liberty as a rival if not as an enemy. I had no such suspicion. On the contrary, I felt convinced that the co-operation of unfettered zeal, particularly religious zeal, was indispensable, both for the progress of popular teaching and for its sound direction. There are generous impulses in the laical world, emotions of moral ardour which assist the advancement of great public undertakings; but the spirit of Christian charity and faith alone carry into such works that complete disinterestedness, that disposition and habit of self-sacrifice, that modest perseverance, which secure while they purify success. For this reason I took great pains to defend the religious societies dedicated to elementary education, against the prejudices and ill-feeling by which they were too often attacked. I not only protected them in their liberty, but I assisted them in their wants, looking upon them as the most honourable rivals and the safest auxiliaries that civil authority in its efforts to promote popular education could expect to be associated with. I owe them the justice of declaring that notwithstanding the suspicious susceptibility which these pious brotherhoods naturally felt towards the new government, and a Protestant minister, they soon acquired full confidence in

[1] See Historic Documents, No. III.

the sincerity of the good will I exhibited towards them, and acted with me in the most amicable spirit. While the law of the 28th of June, 1833, was under debate in the Chambers, to mark distinctly this mutual understanding, and to give the principal of these communities, the brethren of Christian Doctrine, a public token of esteem, I directed an inquiry to be made of Brother Anaclet, their superior-general, whether according to the statutes of the fraternity he was permitted to receive the cross of honour. He replied by the following letter, which I have much pleasure in preserving:

"SIR AND MINISTER,

"THE proposal so complimentary to our order which M. Delabecque conveyed to me yesterday on the part of your Excellency, has impressed me with a lively sense of gratitude, and has convinced me more and more of the truly paternal benevolence with which the government deigns to honour us.

"Our holy institutor has inserted nothing in our rules which formally interdicts acceptance of the offer you have had the goodness to make, without any merit on our part, simply because he could not possibly foresee that his humble disciples would ever have an opportunity of declining such a flattering proposition. But looking at the spirit of our laws, which all lead to inspire estrangement from the world, and a renunciation of its honours and distinctions, we feel ourselves called upon humbly to thank your Excellency for the distinguished offer you have conveyed to us, and to accept with our refusal our excuses and thanks. We shall not the less

preserve as long as we live a grateful remembrance of your inestimable goodness, and we shall declare loudly, as is our daily practice, the testimonies of kind feeling and protection we so continually receive from the King's government, and especially from the minister of Public Instruction and the members of the Royal Council."

Another religious society, the congregation of Christian Instruction, founded in Brittany by the Abbé J. M. de La Mennais, particularly attracted my attention and support. The name of the founder, his mind at once simple and cultivated, his entire devotion to his work, his practical ability, his independence towards his own party, the frankness of his intercourse with the civil powers,—in fact, everything connected with his character, inspired me with unsuspicious sympathy, to which he responded by even inviting, of his own accord (rare confidence in an ecclesiastic), the official inspection of his schools. On the 3rd of May, 1834, he wrote to me as follows: "When I had the honour of seeing you in the month of October last, you were so kind as to tell me that an inspector-general of the University would, on your part, visit my establishment of Ploërmel in 1834. I am most anxious to witness the fulfilment of this obliging promise, but I am also desirous of knowing at what time he will come, for otherwise it is almost certain he would not find me here, owing to the continual journeys I am compelled to take at this season. It is, however, most important that I should meet him, as I have many things to communicate of deep interest for the progress of elementary instruction in Brittany." Two years later, on the 15th of October, 1836, he furnished me

with a detailed account of the state of his institution, of the obstacles he encountered, of the insufficiency of his resources, of the wants he wished me to supply; and finished by saying: "The minister of Marine has instructed the Prefect of Morbihan to convey to me his desire of having some of our brethren to instruct the enfranchised slaves of Martinique and Guadaloupe. I have not said *no*, for it would be a beautiful and holy work; neither have I yet said *yes*, for the sad objection always recurs, where shall we find the materials of supplying so many wants, and why send our brethren so far off when we are so scantily supplied? . . . Alas! if I were only assisted as I desire!" [1]

Every time that I met this honest and stanch Breton, a pious ecclesiastic and an ardent instructor of the people, so exclusively devoted to his position and undertaking, my thoughts reverted mournfully towards his brother, that great but ill-regulated spirit, lost in his own passions, and confounded amongst the intellectual malefactors of his age; he who seemed born to be one of its severest guides. I have never known nor even seen the Abbé Felicité de La Mennais; I am only acquainted with him through his writings, by what his friends have recorded, and by the bilious, repulsive, and unhappy portrait drawn of him by Ary Scheffer, the painter of the human heart. I admire as much as any one the lofty and daring intelligence which mounts to a pinnacle, and plunges from thence to the extremest boundary of thought, wherever it may be; the grave and impassioned talent, brilliant and pure, bitter and melan-

[1] See Historic Documents, No. IV.

choly, elegantly severe, and sometimes touching in its sadness. I feel convinced that he possessed within that soul, where pride wounded to death seemed to exercise sole empire, many noble aspirations, upright desires, and painfully conflicting sentiments. In what have all these gifts eventuated? It will form one of the heaviest and most specious complaints against the age in which we live, to have so reduced this lofty nature, and others of a similar standard whom I abstain from naming, but who under our own observation have equally contributed to their self-abasement. Undoubtedly these fallen spirits were the agents of their own ruin; but they were also exposed to such a host of fatal temptations, they took part in so many seductive and tempestuous scenes, they lived in such a total confusion of human thought, ambition, and destiny, they achieved such easy and brilliant triumphs by their very wanderings, and by flattering the passions and errors of the day,—that we can scarcely feel surprise when we mark the growth of the evil seeds that finally overpowered them. For my own part, while contemplating these uncommon men, my illustrious and ill-fated contemporaries, I feel more sorrow than anger, and implore pardon for them, at the very moment when, in my heart, I cannot abstain from pronouncing a severe condemnation on their works and their influence.

I return now to elementary education. On the 15th of April, 1834, within a year after the promulgation of the law of the 28th of June, 1833, I communicated to the King the nature of its progress, in a detailed report

including acts, documents, and results. I repeat here, in a few words and figures, such of the latter as can be so conveyed. In the course of the year named, the number of primary schools for boys increased from 31,420 to 33,695, and the pupils actually receiving instruction from 1,200,715 to 1,654,828. In 1272 townships, school-houses had been built, purchased, or completely repaired. Fifteen new elementary normal schools had been established. Thirteen years later, by the end of 1847, through the unremitting efforts of my successors in the department of Public Instruction, the number of elementary schools for boys had augmented from 33,695 to 43,514; that of the pupils from 1,654,828 to 2,176,079; and of the school-houses belonging to the townships, from 10,316 to 23,761. Seventy-six primary normal schools supplied masters to every department. I pass over in silence all that had either been begun or accomplished for girls' schools, asylums, work-rooms, and other establishments directly or indirectly affecting popular education.

Such at the end of fifteen years were the fruits of the law of the 28th of June, 1833, and of the movement, which I cannot say it created, but which it undoubtedly directed to a real and effective institution.

The year 1848 subjected this law and all others, in common with the schools and France herself, to a terrible trial. As soon as the storm had subsided a little, a powerful reaction sprang up against primary instruction, as also against liberty, movement, and progress. The elementary tutors were accused in the mass of being abettors or instruments of revolution. The im-

puted mischief was real, though less general than was said and believed. I inquired one day of a respectable and judicious bishop, who was well acquainted with the history and condition of the schools in one of our great departments, how many tutors, according to his opinion, had been imbued with the revolutionary spirit? "At most about one-fifth," he replied. A large proportion, much too numerous and symptomatic of a disease loudly demanding remedy. But how could this evil be expected to escape the schools when it prevailed universally? I have named the seeds of moral and political weakness which remained in the law, in spite of all my efforts to remove them, and in the entire system of elementary instruction. The natural and effectual influence of the church and the state have been too much suspected and reduced. And when the Revolution exploded, the state itself, the public authorities of the day, excited the elementary teachers to become participators in all the dreams, and accomplices in all the incidental disorders. We blame institutions and laws for the mischief we have produced. We accuse them to exonerate ourselves, as the man would do who condemns and abandons his house after he has set fire to it with his own hands. Elementary instruction is not a sovereign panacea capable of curing every moral disease of a nation, nor all-sufficient for intellectual health. It is a salutary or pernicious ingredient, according as it is ill or well directed; restrained within due bounds or carried beyond its proper scope. When a new and influential force, physical or moral, steam or intelligence, once enters the world, it can never be expelled; we

must learn how to turn it to profitable account. If we fail to do this, it disseminates pell-mell, and in all directions, fertility and destruction. In our degree and present state of civilization, the education of the people has become an absolute necessity, a fact equally indispensable and inevitable.

Public consciousness is evidently awake to this, for in the catastrophe which demonstrated the weak points of elementary instruction, and in the midst of the clamour excited on that subject, it has not been utterly overthrown. Many have attacked it, but no one has advised, or believed in the possibility of its abolition. The law of the 28th of June, 1833, has received various modifications, some salutary, others questionable; but all its principles and essential provisions have survived in their full vigour. Founded by that law, primary education is now, amongst us, a public institution and an acquired fact. Much, undoubtedly, remains yet to be done for the judicious government of the schools, to secure in their internal economy those influences of religion and order, of faith and law, which constitute the dignity and safety of a nation. But if, as I confidently trust, God has not condemned French society to exhaust itself, rudely or silently, in fruitless alternations of fever and forgetfulness, of licence and apathy, what remains to be effected for the great work of popular education, will accomplish itself, and its completion will not have been purchased at too costly a price.

CHAPTER III.

SECONDARY EDUCATION.

DIFFICULTY OF INTRODUCING THE PRINCIPLE OF LIBERTY INTO SECONDARY EDUCATION.—ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION OF THE UNIVERSITY.—ITS TWO CLASSES OF ENEMIES.—THEIR INJUSTICE.—NATURAL AND LEGITIMATE CAUSES OF THEIR HOSTILITY.—THE UNIVERSITY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH.—INTERNAL STATE AND SOCIAL POSITION OF CATHOLICISM IN 1830.—DEMAND FOR LIBERTY OF INSTRUCTION.—M. DE MONTALEMBERT AND THE ABBÉ LACORDAIRE.—OPPOSING TENDENCIES IN CATHOLICISM.—EFFORTS FOR ITS RECONCILIATION WITH MODERN SOCIETY.—THE ABBÉ F. DE LA MENNAIS.—L'AVENIR.—JOURNEY OF THE ABBÉ DE LA MENNAIS, THE ABBÉ LACORDAIRE, AND M. DE MONTALEMBERT TO ROME.—POPE GREGORY XVI. CONDEMNS L'AVENIR.—THE UNIVERSITY IN ITS RELATIONS WITH CIVIL SOCIETY.—WHAT WOULD HAVE BEEN A GOOD SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM.—WHY AND THROUGH WHOM IT WAS REJECTED.—I PREPARE A BILL UPON SECONDARY EDUCATION.—ITS CHARACTER AND LIMITS.—HOW IT WAS RECEIVED.—REPORT OF M. SAINT-MARC GIRARDIN TO THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—DEBATE ON THE BILL.—M. DE LAMARTINE.

I HAD the same question to solve with respect to secondary as with primary education. Here again it was necessary to establish the freedom promised by the Charter. But though the duty was similar, the position was widely different. In elementary teaching everything had to be founded, public establishments as well as individual rights. We had to create national schools while we secured the liberty of private seminaries, and in this double labour, I encountered few adversaries or rivals. The institution of public schools was my great

mission. Authorized by the Charter, and in the name of a principle, the liberty of private instruction was neither demanded nor maintained by powerful interests and ardent passions. It was from the government especially that the people expected the accomplishment of their wishes. In the matter of elementary teaching, private enterprise had its privileges, but very limited pretensions and credit.

As regarded secondary instruction, on the contrary, I found myself engaged with a vast establishment, thoroughly founded, systematic, complete, and in full activity; and also with the numerous and powerful rivals, I will not call them enemies, of that institution, passionately demanding full liberty of action for themselves. The freedom thus claimed presented itself as a new fact to the body against which it was directed, and one entirely opposed to their origin and constitutive principles. Founded in the spirit of the maxim that education belongs to the state, the University reposed on its double basis of privilege and absolute power. I was therefore called upon to introduce liberty to an institution where it had no natural existence, and to defend that institution, at the same time, against formidable assailants. This was, in fact, to preserve the fortress while opening its gates.

The University had two classes of opponents, almost equally distinct and determined. The liberals, who taxed it with despotism; and the devout, who accused it of irreligion. Its constitution, and I might even say its physiognomy, were repugnant to the former; they disliked this educating body which reminded them of

the old corporations they had so strenuously combated, and shrank from the forms and discipline which trained up the rising generation in the military system they detested in the state. The zealous Catholics had no confidence in the religious opinions of a great number of the masters of the University. They regretted the old associations in which religion and education were closely linked together, and struggled to revive them to confide their children to their care. Several of these societies, in fact, more or less disguised, had re-established themselves under the Restoration; and to insure their success, their partisans incessantly assailed the University, which they represented as being imbued with the irreligious spirit of the eighteenth century, and engaged in disseminating amongst the youth of the day, if not impiety, at least indifference.

In these attacks there was much injustice and some ingratitude. The government of the University, whether Head Master or General Council, Minister or President, had always exercised its power with signal moderation. At the same time rival and controller of all private establishments of secondary instruction, it had superintended them without jealousy or severity, sanctioning them wherever there appeared a prospect of legitimate success, and never without powerful reasons aiming a blow at their stability or liberty. In the midst of general despotism, and despotically instituted itself, the University exhibited a just and liberal administration.

It was also an administration sincerely anxious to maintain the rights and interests of religion. If the Christian enemies of the University had gone back to

its origin; if the state in which it had found public instruction could have been replaced before their eyes; if they had recalled all it had done to restore religious feeling to the rising generation; if they had chosen to remember the struggles it had endured, the obstacles it had surmounted, with this object in view; if they had been compelled to calculate the distance between the point of departure of the University in the paths of Christianity in 1808, and that which it had reached in 1830, I venture to say, their hearts would have acknowledged some compunctious regrets at having so completely passed over these numerous and palpable facts.

Connected with these facts we find the names of M. de Fontanes, the Cardinal de Beausset, M. Royer-Collard, M. Cuvier, and the Abbé Frayssinous. Such are the men who from 1810 to 1830 were the principal heads of the University. They must be forgotten, too, before we can believe that under them that establishment was either tyrannical or impious.

But passion even when sincere is seldom disposed to deal justly with past events and persons. It is with the present alone and its peculiar interests that it concerns itself. After 1830, setting aside the past, there were in the system and actual state of the University, serious and natural causes, amply sufficient to excite hostility and contest, either on the part of the liberals or the Catholics.

In fact, the government of the University had always been moderate; but in right, it was absolute, and founded on an absolute principle. "On the question of education the state exercises supreme control, beyond the family precincts. As soon as the child, for the pur-

pose of education, emerges from the hands of his father, he falls into those of the state, which assumes the sole right of bringing up all who are not educated by their natural relatives; and no one can, without authority from the state, either assume this mission to himself, or receive it from the parents." Such a principle is virtually a political dictatorship, as regards education, established on the threshold of the paternal domicile. On the morrow of a great revolutionary anarchy, and to escape from its consequences, every form of absolutism becomes possible, and perhaps necessary. But under constitutional government, in a free system, with acknowledged liberty of conscience, freedom of debate, and choice of profession,—dictatorship in educational matters, under whatever form it may present itself, or by what mitigations surrounded, could not fail to excite animated opposition from the liberals, who, in addition, possessed a recorded and incontestable claim against it in the provisions of the Charter.

It is impossible, moreover, to calculate how many abuses and secret grievances may spring up and subsist under the hand of the most moderate despotism; and how often it shocks and deeply wounds the sensibilities it seems most anxious to conciliate. Suffering and indignation thus accumulate unexpectedly. Power requires an unclouded eye to have a correct knowledge of what it does, and it is only by the light of freedom that it can justly appreciate the effects of its own deeds in their mutual operation on the public and on itself.

The position of the University was not less delicate in regard to religion than to liberty. Its government

had always fostered the religious sentiment. In the general course of instruction, in the choice of masters, in its daily exercises, religious objects and considerations had ever occupied an important place. But the ruling incentive in this line of conduct was the advancement of social order rather than faith; reaction against revolutionary unbelief was stronger than the return towards Christian piety. Honest services were rendered to religion without expelling indifference from the soul. In the present day, it is a common conclusion that when the full exercise of its rites and ceremonies is secured to the church, when its temporal wants are provided for, and outward respect manifested, all has been done that could be desired, and that we have a right to expect in return everything that allies can require from each other. A profound mistake. Religion is not content to be looked upon as an implement of order, and a great social advantage. She has a more lofty idea of her delegated trust. She requires to believe that her political associates are also faithful disciples, or at least, that they should understand and truly respect her divine character. And when not thoroughly convinced that these are the true sentiments entertained towards her, the church stands upon reserve, and even while rigidly discharging her duties, withholds her devotedness.

Catholicism, moreover, was no longer, in 1830, in the state to which it had been reduced at the commencement of the century, under the Consulate and the Empire. To live tranquilly, it no longer required the daily support of the civil authorities. It had

resumed an undisputed position in society, and great power over the public mind. It found itself in a condition to demand much more than security of worship. It had re-acquired living, exacting, and extended faith, intellectual activity, and confidence in its own strength. Under the Restoration it had basked in royal favour, and had often obtained parliamentary influence. It reckoned amongst its believers and servants powerful and brilliant intelligences, philosophers, orators, and writers of the highest rank. The Revolution of 1830, in depriving it of political preponderance, had opened to it the new career of independence. On this it entered with daily advances, raising up a number of questions which religious indifference looked upon as extinct, and calling to its aid, not always in the right season, but ever with effectual ardour, the partially forgotten alliance between the spirit of religion and the spirit of liberty.

It was more particularly beyond the limits of the official church, amongst devout laics, and priests in no defined office, that this movement began to show itself; and the first standard elevated was that of liberty of instruction. The privilege was demanded in the name of family rights, of the church, and of the Charter. It was not confined to a demand alone. Two young men, sincere, enthusiastic, and full of talent, the one a peer of France, the other a monk—the Count de Montalembert and the Abbé Lacordaire—took upon themselves to exercise the right they claimed. They opened a public school without requiring any authority from the minister of Public Instruction, the Head Master of the Univer-

sity. Accused of this before the Court of Peers in August, 1831, under the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, they were necessarily condemned, according to the laws in force; but their defence created a vivid sensation. They succeeded in disseminating and establishing with a respectable portion of the public the idea, the design, and the passion by which they were themselves animated. A struggle commenced, in the name of the church, with the highest power in the state, the great constitutional authorities.

The movement which fermented in Catholicism, exceeded this special conflict, and involved many questions beyond liberty of instruction. In conjunction with the spirit of reaction and submission which alone seemed present and powerful in the Catholic church, a new impulse, I will not say of reform, but rather of revival and progress, endeavoured to associate itself. Many Catholics, priests as well as laymen, convinced that religion could only resume its empire over men's minds, by the church once more taking its full place in the state, turned their regrets and efforts anxiously towards the old system. Others, more prudent and pacific, satisfied themselves that the church could not be better employed than in quietly occupying the position assigned to it under the new order of things; in seeking its strength and security in an alliance with the civil power, and in turning to its own profit, while accommodating itself to their vicissitudes, the necessity felt by all the different governments of securing its co-operation in the maintenance of public order. But amongst the sincere Catholics there were younger, more

sympathetic, and bolder spirits, who neither accorded with this retrograding ardour on the one side, nor the somewhat subordinate attitude on the other; and who aspired to obtain for the church a more lofty and productive destiny. This section looked upon the old system as lost beyond return, and the present state of society in France, its organization, ideas, and institutions as definitively victorious. In their judgment, the Catholic church was bound to accept these conditions openly, while demanding under the new law its own independence, and a free participation in all the liberties it promised to establish. Thus alone could it recover its influence and moral efficacy, and advance in concert with the reorganized society, instead of vainly attempting to throw it back into a broken mould, or of lowering itself to the humble position of the paid ally of power.

This idea included the presentiment of a great work to be accomplished, and an intelligent instinct of the higher interests as well as of the true strength of religion and of the Christian church. Unfortunately this excellent cause had at that time for its leading champion, the man of all others the least fitted to comprehend and serve it. The Abbé Felicité de La Mennais had commenced his career with notoriety, by attacking indistinctly the principles and tendencies of modern society, and by supporting the maxims and reminiscences of theocracy. He excited more surprise than confidence, when he was seen to demand all the privileges of liberty for the advantage of the church. He was suspected of seeking a means rather than an end,

and of a desire, through this freedom, to elevate the church into a sovereign mistress. He speedily exhibited, I will not say his design, but rather his personal disposition; or, as it would have been expressed in other times, the inward demon that possessed him. A mind equally aspiring and superficial, a logician at once blind and persuasive, singularly ignorant of history, capable of sublime perceptions and impulses, but unable to estimate actual and distinct facts, or to assign to each its proper place and relative value; he always thought and wrote under the influence of an exclusive idea, which became his sole and divine law. He demanded, as a natural consequence, the most extreme results from an incomplete principle, and blazed up into an intense hatred against the opponents of his despotic rule. He was, moreover, subject to that seduction which superior talent often exercises upon its possessor, even more than over those who listen to him. The idea to which he yielded his faith, the sentiment with which he was penetrated, presented themselves to him under such alluring aspects, he was so strongly impressed with their charms and merits, that in yielding himself up to the pleasure of contemplating and describing them, he lost all faculty of perceiving their errors and most glaring deficiencies; while in his idolatrous enthusiasm he despised and detested as barbarians and blasphemers all who repudiated the objects of his adoration and sympathy. The natural effects of this passion of the logician and artist speedily manifested themselves in the Abbé de La Mennais. When once he had plunged into this spectacle of the miseries of human society, the

imperfections of governments, and the wrongs they inflicted, the physical and moral sufferings of nations,—when he had employed in painting them all the power of his imagination and his soul, he saw nothing beyond, no other fact, no other question. His world was entirely shut up in these gloomy pictures, in which all his faculties were absorbed. This ardent advocate of despotic ecclesiastical authority, who had established a *Future*,[1] for the conquest of the liberties of the church, became by degrees the apostle of absolute and universal freedom; with a sincerity alternately arrogant and melancholy, the theocratic theorist transformed himself into a liberal republican, a revolutionary democrat, until his clairvoyant spirits might readily foretell the day when anarchical doctrines and passions, carried to the last extreme, would find in him their bitterest and most eloquent interpreter.

The rational members of the Catholic church, and amongst others the greater number of the bishops, abstained from deceiving themselves. Compromising through its violence, even while maintaining their cause, "*L'Avenir*" soon appeared to them dangerous in its doctrines; and while still admiring the Abbé de La Mennais, they looked upon him as a suspicious ally who might readily become an enemy. The court of Rome set them at ease by coinciding with their suspicions and alarms. When the Abbé de La Mennais and his two principal associates in "*L'Avenir*," the Count de Montalembert and the Abbé Lacordaire, removed to Rome the question of the merit and durability of their enter-

[1] 'L'Avenir.' The title of his publication.

prise, Pope Gregory XVI. received them with marked consideration, praised their object, and endeavoured to lull or abolish opposition. He was unwilling to condemn a man who had so recently and brilliantly defended ecclesiastical authority, and he undoubtedly hoped to reclaim him by conciliation. But driven to extremity by the intractable urgency of the Abbé de La Mennais, and the necessity of putting an end to the schism in the church, the Pope at last, in his Encyclical Letter of the 15th of August, 1832, pronounced a formal and peremptory censure, although expressed in mild and generous terms. The Abbé Lacordaire, with rare sagacity in an enthusiastic mind, had anticipated this result, and endeavoured to induce his two friends to forestall it by a modest submission; but being unable to prevail upon them, he left Rome alone, leaving the Abbé de La Mennais more and more irritated in spirit, and M. de Montalembert, still charmed and spell-bound under his influence. When the Encyclical Letter of the 15th of August, 1832, made its appearance, a new schism sprang up. M. de Montalembert, and, if I am not mistaken, all the other editors of "*L'Avenir*," submitted in their turn; fully and without equivocation, resolved, whatever might be their secret thoughts, to conduct themselves like faithful Catholics. Left alone, a prey to the internal struggle between his ancient faith and the new ideas that expanded within him under the aspiration of wounded pride, the Abbé de La Mennais exhibited at first some semblances of docility mixed up with the remains of an ill-concealed anger; but finding that the court of Rome was determined not to be thus

satisfied, he finally, by the publication of "Words of a Believer," (*Paroles d'un Croyant*,) engaged in a declared revolt, which soon merged into an implacable war against the Pope, the Romish church, the French episcopacy, Kings, monarchy, and all other religious or political authorities, which, according to his idea, held under their detestable yoke, minds and nations, and robbed them of the liberty and happiness to which they had an undoubted right.

Thus fell this first attempt to reform, not the religious doctrines, but the political attitude of catholicism, and to establish between the Catholic church and modern society, not simply a frigid peace, but a sincere and productive harmony. It was a grand idea responding to a great social interest. The Abbé de La Mennais, through his false perceptions and inflammable pride, involved it for a time in his own shipwreck, by associating it with his reveries and anti-social passions, which never have failed, and never will fail to introduce, wherever they penetrate, tyrannical anarchy in place of liberty, and chaos as a substitute for progress. One question alone, the question of free education, remained erect above the ruins of "*L'Avenir*," deplorably aggravated and envenomed by the general polemic, of which it had been, if not the principal object, at least the originating cause. M. de Montalembert, the Abbé Lacordaire, and their friends, in separating avowedly from the Abbé de La Mennais, a rebel against the church, carried all their ardour into the special struggle in progress between the church and the University. There they found the French episcopacy, if not already pre-

pared to follow, at least disposed to support them in the combat. It was pre-eminently in the matter of education that the bishops preserved, in their relations with the state, remembrances and desires of independence. They had to defend their own establishments of secondary education, the small seminaries, those formidable competitors of the colleges of the University. They protected, more or less openly, the religious associations, Jesuits, Ligorists, Dominicans, or others, who founded houses of education. They were thus the national rivals of the University, and the natural allies of men arrayed against it in the name of liberty of instruction, in a war, becoming daily more animated, precisely because it was concentrated against a single adversary, and directed towards a single end.

Engaged in conflict with the official leaders and daring volunteers of the church, the University was unable to find, even in laical society itself, the support it had a right to expect. Not only did many Catholic families participate in the religious mistrust manifested towards it by the clergy, but the ardent liberals persisted, on their side, in taxing it with bigotry as well as despotism. By reason of its essential character, and from the idea that had presided at its foundation, it encountered, within a certain sphere of French society, but little confidence and sympathy. When the Emperor Napoleon, in creating the University, commanded it as the leading object of its mission to employ all its resources and reputation in the advancement of secondary instruction, of classical and literary studies, he was actuated by a profound instinct of our social condition,

of its history, its nature, and its wants. He knew that after the astounding overthrow produced by our Revolution, after the violent fall of all the higher ranks and institutions, in the midst of so many new and sudden fortunes,—to sanction in some degree the triumph of the middle classes, and to assure their influence, it was necessary to cultivate and develop amongst them elevated studies, habits of mental exercise, learning, and intellectual superiority; and by these means to make them appear, and render them, in fact, worthy of their position. It was necessary, too, that at the same moment when new France proved her strength, and covered herself with glory in the battle-field, she should undergo the same trials, and achieve corresponding fame in peaceful civilization. Magistrates, administrators, advocates, physicians, eminent professors, men of science and literature, are not alone internally essential to a nation, but they are indispensable to its dignity and credit in the world. The University was especially dedicated to the advancement of the higher order of the middle classes in these influential avocations. Many families of the old French nobility regarded with ill-will this centre of activity and social strength, in which the citizens raised themselves to the level of their toilsome destinies, and still hesitated to venture their children in this common arena, to acquire there the same means of success, and to prepare themselves by intelligence and labour to resume their places in the state.

It was in presence of these facts and opposing interests that I undertook to prepare and submit to public debate, this bill on secondary education, or rather to

determine once more, for public instruction in France, under its most difficult aspect, the eternal problem of reconciliation between power and liberty.

One favourable solution alone presented itself. To renounce entirely the principle of the sovereignty of the state on the question, and to adopt without reserve, in all its consequences, that of free competition between the state and its rivals, laical or ecclesiastical, private or incorporated. This course appeared to be at once the most simple, able, and efficacious. It reduced all the enemies of the University to silence by satisfying at one stroke their loudest pretensions, while to remain in the lists, it demanded from them unremitting exertions; for the state also retained the power of giving to its own schools all the development and advantages which social interest or the public wish might suggest or require. None of the contending parties could find any ground of complaint, for they retained the full and free use of all their arms; but it was the state itself which regulated the conditions of the combat, by accepting, while it abandoned empire, the salutary obligation of omitting no efforts to maintain or recover its superiority.

Experience, which usually inculcates reserve and prudence, has taught me a contrary lesson. When we are in the right, we can risk more than we believe we may. It would have been far better for the University to have boldly accepted battle with free rivals, than to reduce itself to the necessity of defending with hesitation its sovereignty and privileges against inveterate enemies. The first shock once over, it would have been in a condition to continue the struggle, not only with success,

but credit, and would speedily have emerged from it with added power and dignity.

But everything under the government of July opposed this complete and daring policy, which notwithstanding its leaning towards the church, the Restoration had never ventured to attempt. An immense majority of the public, I might even say the public unanimously, beheld in ecclesiastical liberty the precursor and instrument of ecclesiastical rule,—the object of universal antipathy and terror. The laical spirit, which had become so powerful, was also bitterly suspicious, and would have doubted its own security, if its rivals displayed, like itself, and possibly in direct opposition, the liberty it had conquered from them. The traditions of the old monarchy came in also, on this point, to second the passions of new France. Our ancient laws on the relations between the state and the church, on the interdictions or fetters imposed on religious associations, were appealed to as the rampart of liberal victories. To these general and historical suspicions, the Revolution of 1830 had added others more distinct and personal. The state and the church are never really in mutual understanding, but when each believes itself sincerely trusted by the other, and when they feel assured that no hostility whatever exists between their essential principles and vital interests. This, unfortunately, had ceased, since 1830, to be the common sentiment between the two powers. They lived in peace, but not in intimacy, exchanging support without confidence or reciprocal attachment. In the very bosom of the church, thus officially linked to the new rule, there often appeared

regrets and reserved thoughts favourable to the fallen authority; while the church, in turn, frequently saw itself exposed to the ironical indifference of the disciples of Voltaire, or the savage hostility of the converts of the Revolution. The warm apostles of free education themselves aggravated the obstacles opposed to it by this state of parties and minds. The extravagances of the Abbé de La Mennais, alternately theocratic and revolutionary, redoubled the suspicions and indignation of the most opposite civilians, conservatives as well as liberals, magistrates, lawyers, and students. Any one, who at that time would have ventured to advise the government, in the question of public instruction, to resign absolutely the control of the state, the system of the University, the curbs of the church and religious associations,—and to incur without strong precautions the unfettered competition of such a host of rivals (I will not call them enemies), would have been looked upon as a concealed Jesuit, a base deserter, or a blinded visionary.

Without understanding all these difficulties as thoroughly as I do now, I entertained, in 1836, a lively impression of them, and thereupon regulated my conduct both in preparing and debating the bill on secondary education. I concentrated my plan and object on three points: to maintain the University, to establish liberty by its side, and to postpone the opposing questions which the present state of parties and feelings excluded from a profitable or permanent solution. I took the University, its organization and educational establishments, as a great existing fact, good in itself, and capable of being adapted to the constitutional system, but not calling for

revived discussion. I submitted it to the free competition of all its rivals, without distinction or reserve, and without imposing on any of them special conditions. I referred to other times and laws the questions which had no essential bearing on the principle I desired to lay down; amongst others, those relating to the small seminaries, religious congregations, and various establishments, clerical or laical, which had been the objects of special measures either of indulgence or severity.

A bill conceived in this spirit, combined, I will not hesitate to say, disinterestedness and courage. By firmly supporting the University, while frankly admitting liberty, I encountered at once the attacks of the opposing liberals, and of a considerable number of my conservative friends. By shutting out from debate the University and the exceptional rule of certain ecclesiastical establishments, I closed the arena against new systems and old passions. My bill assumed the aspect of timidity mingled with obstinacy, and I reduced myself to the defence of positions formidably menaced on every side, instead of encountering the gratifications and chances of a great war in the open field against one class of enemies alone.

The debate taught me that in spite of my prudence in the enterprise, I had been too sanguine in my hope. M. Saint-Marc Girardin, by order of the committee of the Chamber of Deputies, drew up an able report, a model of the art in which he excels, of marching to battle by sometimes verging from the direct road either to the right or left, and by drawing advantage alternately, with impartial complaisance, from contrary ideas, without

either deserting his own or entirely adopting them. This report, while introducing an ample allowance of modifications into the bill, confirmed nevertheless its principles, and made no change in the essential results. When the debate came on, M. de Tracy and M. Arago, the first with honest regret, the latter with a certain infusion of learned display and laboured pleasantry, attacked the bill as incomplete, restricted, and solely calculated to repair here and there the edifice of the University, when it was necessary to construct a grand and comprehensive system of public education. They explained their own views, and the nature of the bill they would have introduced, much more fully than they discussed the measure now before the Chamber. I felt little alarm at these general and vague attacks, which left untouched the fundamental question my bill proposed to solve. But before long, members of inferior renown, and not all identified with the opposition, directed their assaults against this delicate point. Uneasy as to the consequences of liberty, and above all, of ecclesiastical liberty, which in their eyes amounted to public instruction handed over to the Jesuits, they demanded on the one hand, that the small seminaries should be subjected to all the conditions imposed by law upon private secondary schools; and, on the other, that every head of such establishments should be compelled, not only to take the political oath, but to swear also that he belonged to no unauthorized society or corporation. I succeeded in throwing out the first of these amendments, but the second was adopted. This amounted to imposing on the liberty of the Catholic church and its militia, per-

sonal restrictions in educational matters, while it took from the proposed law the leading characteristic of sincerity and common liberal right with which I anxiously desired it should be impressed.

M. de Lamartine, who at that time neither ranked amongst my adversaries nor friends, was the only one of the orators taking part in the debate who perfectly comprehended the importance of this feature, or the merit of the bill to which it belonged. "I have heard," he said, "for several days, many members holding different views, declare that they will black-ball this bill. I am sorry for it. Some are prepossessed with that phantom of Jesuitism which is incessantly conjured up here, and which must be declared more powerful than ever, if it can induce us to recede before liberty. Others seem to apprehend that the clergy may appropriate to themselves the exclusive education of our youth, and that the spirit of the time, represented by the University, may exercise a monopoly over the traditional and religious element represented by educational societies. It is exactly on account of these disagreements between opposing parties that I shall vote, and conjure the Chamber to vote for this bill, under a more certain conviction. What! after seven years of expectation, after a Revolution made to acquire this very right of free instruction, after it has been called for by men of the most contrasted views, and inscribed in the Charter as a synallagmatic condition of the government of 1830, are we going to reject it from the hands of the sincere and courageous minister who offers it, and to induce France and Europe to suppose that the sphere of liberty is not wide enough for all,

and that we wish to restrict it to ourselves alone? No, gentlemen, this is not possible. Let us hasten, in spite of all objections, in spite of this impolitic oath, and these restrictions, more or less oppressive; let us hasten, I say, to pass this bill. It is a pledge of liberty which all parties place involuntarily in your hands, against religious intolerance or atheistic tyranny; and which can never, at a future period, be wrested from us."

The law eventually passed in the Chamber of Deputies. But, a few days after, the cabinet fell, I left office, and my bill subsided with me, without going to the Chamber of Peers. If it had remained, such as I first presented it, perhaps, notwithstanding a few incoherencies and gaps, it might have sufficed to settle the question of free education, and to prevent the deplorable contest of which that question subsequently became the object. But through the amendments to which it was subjected, the bill, by restraining the liberty promised by the Charter, expressly from the church and its officials, added fresh venom to the quarrel instead of bringing it to an end. The failure called for no regret.

By the same bill I had undertaken to follow up the solution, already commenced in my law for primary instruction, of a question which has recently been much discussed; that of the intermediate and practical training which applies to employments and social positions important from their number, activity, and influence, to the strength and repose of the state. Superior elementary schools formed the first degree of this department of teaching intended to become more complete

and special in the communal colleges of the second class, and to occupy a place in the great colleges of the state and the cities, without detriment to the higher order of literary and scientific instruction, essential and of necessity common to all liberal professions. Liberty of general education, with the development of intermediate teaching, were the two vital principles of the bill: they fell together.

I shall say nothing here of a multitude of special measures, of which, during the four years of my administration, the establishments for secondary education were the object. The great problems of that important degree of popular teaching are the only ones on which I have it at heart to recall, with accuracy, my views and labours. My position in that respect, and I have already stated it, was much more complicated and difficult than in the matter of elementary instruction. I conducted myself, I believe, as a liberal conservative. I defended the University against impatient rivals whose claims I acknowledged, and in the University the great classical studies against frivolous innovators whose wishes I did not utterly reject. When I desired to innovate myself, and to settle the questions on liberty of teaching as laid down by the Charter, I attempted more than I was able to accomplish. Impartial minds who may take the trouble of examining these matters, will judge whether this was my own fault, or that of the public with whom I had to deal, either as enemies or friends.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPERIOR EDUCATION.

STATE OF MINDS FROM 1832 TO 1837 ON THE SUBJECT OF SUPERIOR EDUCATION.—REFORMS AND NECESSARY INNOVATIONS.—HOW I ENTERED ON THEM.—VACANT CHAIRS IN THE COLLEGE OF FRANCE.—NOMINATION OF MESSRS. EUGÈNE BURNOUF, JOUFFROY, AMPÈRE, AND ROSSI.—MY PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH THEM.—CREATION OF A CHAIR OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE FACULTY OF LAW AT PARIS.—APPOINTMENT OF M. ROSSI.—OPPOSITION TO HIS COURSE OF LECTURES.—M. AUGUSTE COMTE AND POSITIVE PHILOSOPHY.—PROCEEDINGS IN THE CHAMBERS AGAINST MEN OF SCIENCE AND LETTERS.—ON PLURALITY OF EMPLOYMENTS.—ON APARTMENTS.—LETTER FROM M. GEOFFROY SAINT-HILAIRE.—SCIENTIFIC TRAVELLERS. MESSRS. VICTOR JACQUEMONT AND CHAMPOLLION THE YOUNGER.—ON THE INTRODUCTION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF LIBERTY IN SUPERIOR EDUCATION.—ON THE ABSENCE OF ALL MORAL DISCIPLINE IN SUPERIOR EDUCATION.—MEANS OF APPLYING A REMEDY.

My office as minister of Public Instruction became infinitely more agreeable when the subject under debate was superior education, than when confined to the elementary or secondary branches. I encountered no strong public opinion pressing me to some new and general work in the higher department. There, I had neither to contend with an ardent appeal to liberty nor with embittered emulation. In mathematical and physical science, the superiority and independence of the French schools were acknowledged. In letters, philosophy, and history, our public teaching had very

recently displayed itself with success, and given proofs of freedom. The government of the Restoration was moderate, even when yielding to its mischievous propensities. The courts of the Sorbonne, opened, closed, and re-opened by turns, had shown that its severe enactments were not irrevocable. It was certain that the government of 1830 would still further relax the fetters of intellectual freedom. In the matter of high instruction, the public, at that epoch, had little to desire or fear: on that subject they were prepossessed with no dominant idea or impatient longing. Intellectual aspirations faded before political ambition. Superior education, as it was constituted and exercised, sufficed for the practical wants of society, which regarded it with a blended feeling of satisfaction and indifference.

I only half participated in the first of these sentiments, and not at all in the second. Undoubtedly superior instruction at Paris wanted nothing either in vigour, dignity, or reputation. In the University, the faculties of literature, science, law, and medicine, had many different chairs occupied by eminent men. Beyond the University, and unconnected with its system, the College of France, the Botanical Garden (*Jardin des Plantes*), the various special seminaries, secured the independence and extension of superior teaching, and prevented either the exclusive spirit or routine of any single body from taking possession of it. In the choice of masters and in the system of instruction itself, merit and liberty were not without guarantees. Either by presenting candidates, or by direct co-operation, the educational and learned societies, the faculties, the

special schools, and the Institute, exercised a proper share of influence in the nominations. The government neither interfered nor pretended to interfere with the teaching, beyond the appointment of professors according to the established rules, and the maintenance of public order in the courts. Neither practical efficiency for the youths intended for the different liberal professions, nor intellectual luxury for the amateurs of mind and science, were wanting in these combined sources of superior instruction. Nevertheless, according to my judgment, they were, as a whole, far from being adequate, throughout the entire land, to the serious necessities of French civilization, and above all, to the moral development of the generations verging on the age of manhood, and ready in time to assume their part in the destiny of the country as in their own personal fortunes. There were still important deficiencies in regard to national intelligence, liberty, and morality, unheeded by the public, but with which I was deeply impressed and felt an anxious desire to supply.

I was cautious, however, not to commence at once the reforms and innovations I proposed. In the various departments of Government, public instruction is, perhaps, of all others, the one which most requires the minister to conciliate the opinions of those who surround him, and to secure their support in his undertakings; for they possess the rights, and sometimes the pretensions of men of intelligence by profession, accustomed to the constant and free use of reasoning and reflection. In no other branch of administration do the choice of agents, the relations between the leade and his associates, personal influence

and mutual confidence, perform such important parts. Before entering on the difficult questions in superior education, as yet undisturbed, I was desirous of finding amongst the masters of the principal schools, not merely fellow-labourers but friends, disposed and able to second me.

The course of events soon supplied natural opportunities. During the first year of my ministry, four chairs, those of the Greek Language and Philosophy, of the Sanscrit and its Literature, of French Literature, and of Political Economy, became vacant in the college of France. The professors, by whose deaths the vacancies occured, Messrs. Thurot, De Chézy, Andrieux, and J. B. Say, enjoyed honourable reputations in the world of letters; some were even celebrated and popular. They required adequate successors. I could only select them from amongst the candidates, proposed by the college of France and the Institute. I had reason to expect, for two of these chairs at least, contested presentations, which would devolve on me the embarrassment and responsibility of choice. I am almost unconscious of embarrassment, and I have no dread of responsibility. The chair of the Sanscrit Language and Literature was no object of competition. Presented both by the college of France and the Academy of Inscriptions, still young, and destined to die at an early age, exhausted before his time by the enthusiasm and labour of science, M. Eugène Burnouf was as if named beforehand by all the learned orientalists of Europe, and I could only enjoy the pleasure of officially confirming their suffrage. For the chairs of Greek Philosophy,

French Literature, and Political Economy, my position was less simple. Amongst the candidates presented by the college of France, were Messrs. Jouffroy, Ampère, and Rossi, who were known to be my friends, and whose success I openly desired. But M. Jouffroy had engaged in the philosophic combats of the school of spiritualists, excited by Messrs. Royer-Collard and Cousin, against the sensualism of the last century. In place of M. Ampère, the French Academy had proposed, for the chair of Literature, one of their most distinguished members, M. Lemercier, a brilliant poet, notwithstanding his failures, and an eminent critic, despite the irregularity of the greater part of his works. M. Rossi, an Italian refugee, and professor at Geneva, had only, as yet, in France, one of those reputations readily acknowledged, as long as they are at a distance, but which, as soon as they come near, encounters adversaries and rivals. The Academy of Moral and Political Science opposed to this candidate their permanent secretary, M. Charles Comte, a man of solid acquirements and conscientious opinions, equally just and firm in character, and the son-in-law of M. J. B. Say, to whom a successor was to be appointed. It was evident that Messrs. Ampère, Jouffroy, and Rossi, could not be elevated to the head of public instruction without exciting active jealousies, and at the risk of exposing the power that placed them there to be charged with the spirit of party and coterie, of personal and of unreasonable partiality.

I hesitated not; and in the face of the discontent and attacks which I foresaw, Messrs. Ampère, Jouffroy, and

Rossi, were appointed, with M. Eugène Burnouf, to the vacant chairs.

At that time, I was in no habitual intimacy or intercourse with M. Ampère. He had not yet accomplished any of his travels or produced the works which have alternately exhibited him as a sagacious observer of the present times and a learned critic on the past, equally inquisitive upon men and books, as earnest in discovering and as eager in unravelling the truth in the tombs of Egypt as in the rocks of Norway, and living with the same intelligent familiarity in the midst of the ruins of Rome, and in the great extemporized cities of the American democracy. But although young, M. Ampère, like M. Eugène Burnouf, had already distinguished himself in 1833; at first, by a course of general lectures, which he had given at Marseilles, and afterwards as substitute for Messrs. Villemain and Fauriel in their chairs of French and Foreign Literature. He was one of the most active, laborious, and ingenious spirits, in this generation of erudite philosophers, who undertook, I will not say to renew, for the expression would be as false as irrelevant, but to enlarge and reanimate French Literature, a little menaced with languor, by opening to it in the ancient and modern world new regions in which to achieve, under its banner, productive conquests. The disputes between the followers of the romantic and the classical schools, has been, like all other quarrels, the cause of fantastic pretences and puerile exaggerations; but it revealed to Europe a new phase of the human mind, and in France a profound necessity of our national genius. The literature of the Empire

had rendered us an important service not sufficiently remembered. It had extricated learning from revolutionary disorders and declamations, and had brought it back under the authority of tradition, correct judgment, and taste; but while tradition, correct judgment, and taste can direct and arrange, they fail to inspire. To give energy to their labours, as to a ship on the ocean, there must be wind as well as a compass. The inspiring breath was wanting to our national literature, when the romantic school sought for it in fresh sources,—foreign letters and liberty. In these lay its original character and real merit. It has not given all that it promised: such is the common fate of human engagements; completion rarely equals attempt. But it has imprinted on French Literature a movement which has neither failed in brilliancy nor effect, and has been mutually felt by its adversaries and adepts. M. Ampère appeared to me, in 1833, well suited to promote, in public instruction, this literary revival; and I feel satisfied that all he accomplished since that period, his voyages and labours, that singular combination of adventurous journeys and patient studies, that indefatigable intellectual ardour, so disinterested, diversified, and ever young, have justified the presentiment which determined my choice.

In calling M. Jouffroy to the chair of Greek and Latin Philosophy, I did not act from anticipation, but with full knowledge and confidence. When he had scarcely emerged from the normal School, this youthful philosopher inspired me with much esteem and an affectionate interest. Both in his disposition and counte-

nance he had an impressive and amiable mixture of pride and sweetness, of passion and reserve, of independence somewhat suspicious, and of tranquil dignity. His manner was perfectly free, and even bold, with a natural turn for order and respect; capable of hasty enthusiasm, but without obstinacy, and ever ready to pause, or retrace his steps, to listen to the lessons of life, or to examine the various aspects of truth. His imagination was vivid and his reflection deliberate, with more abundance and delicacy than power in his thought, more progressive observation than inventive originality, and with some tendency to indulge in ingenious theories and subtle deductions, which might have led him astray, had not the rectitude of his heart and judgment warned and restrained him. I never knew a man more serious and sincere in science and in the business of life; and even his pride, of which he possessed a sufficient share, never controlled either his conscience or his reason. When I appointed him to the college of France, he had already displayed, during fifteen years, both in the interior of the normal School, and in the Faculty of Letters, his rare talent for high philosophical instruction. He had been eighteen months in the Chamber of Deputies, where he showed himself a sensible and independent judge in political affairs, without pretending to become a leading actor. I may rank him amongst the small number of those well-regulated spirits open to experience, although devoted to speculation, and whose ideas are regulated and enlightened instead of being intoxicated by public life.

Three years after his appointment he was attacked

by the disease which seven years later proved fatal to him. His chest, seriously affected, rendered not only repose, but the soft and warm air of the south, indispensable. He was married, and almost without fortune. I offered him a mission in Italy, at Florence and Pisa, where he might re-establish his health by pursuing, at his leisure, studies on the state of public instruction in Tuscany, and researches into the manuscripts of the local libraries. In the press and in the Chambers an unfeeling and coarse thoughtfulness has often attacked these indulgences, granted upon plausible pretexts for highly legitimate causes. I have ever disregarded such assaults. How can the funds destined for the encouragement of literature be more worthily employed, than in supporting under the calamities of life the strength and courage of men who do honour to the cause? M. Jouffroy accepted the office I proposed to him; and it gratified me to find proofs, in the letters he addressed to me from Italy, that his residence there was beneficial to the tranquillity of his mind and the prolongation of his days.[1]

I had been for several years connected with M. Rossi. The Duke de Broglie, who had seen much of him at Geneva and Coppet, frequently named him to me. Before 1830, he visited Paris several times, which afforded us many opportunities of conversation. He had become a contributor to the "Revue Française," the publication of which I directed. The various lectures he delivered at Geneva on jurisprudence, political economy, and history, and his "Treatise on Penal Law," published at Paris in 1828, had

[1] See Historic Documents, No. V.

ranked him throughout Europe amongst the masters of high instruction, both by his speeches and writings. Since 1830 he had taken an active and influential part in the general affairs of Switzerland. The canton of Geneva elected him its representative to the great Diet assembled at Lucerne in 1832, to revise and modify the organization of the Helvetic Confederacy. The Diet appointed him a member of the committee empowered to revise the Federal compact, and the committee selected him for their reporter. He had manifested his principles, and given proofs of his efficacy both as a political actor and a publicist. I knew what he had been in Italy, what he was in Switzerland, and what he would be everywhere. I resolved to attach and fix him to France. During the middle ages, the church on more than one occasion received into its bosom and raised to its highest dignities proscribed exiles who had taken refuge in its asylums, and whose merits it had discovered. Why should not the state exercise this general intelligence, and adopt the men of talent and celebrity who were compelled by the troubles of their country to seek hospitality abroad? One point alone is of importance; not to extend this favour but on good security, and to persons capable of responding to it worthily. On this condition it will be rarely exercised. Switzerland had not deceived herself in adopting M. Rossi, neither was I mistaken when I determined to make him a Frenchman.

Nevertheless, he always remained thoroughly Italian. Our conversations allowed me to retain no doubts on the subject; and I have already published in these

"Memoirs" letters which prove with what ardour, in 1831, he participated in the destinies of his native land. But I knew him to be too much a man of sense and honour ever to sacrifice, or even to subordinate, the interests of his adopted country to the hopes of his youth. I shall return again to this topic. In 1848 M. Rossi died for Italy. From 1833 to 1848 he faithfully served and reflected honour on France.

His appointment as Professor of Political Economy in the College of France, although it excited some comments, met with no opposition. He was proposed by the college itself, and the success of his lectures speedily silenced criticism. But this choice was not enough of itself to recompense him for the position he had abandoned in Switzerland, and to attach him definitively to France. When we wish to acquire the services of any uncommon man, justice and sound policy demand that we should secure to him those external advantages which enable the mind to work in tranquillity and freedom. When I invited M. Rossi to Paris, I opened to him the prospect of a second chair, which would complete his rank as a professor of the first class, and place him within range of assuming his proper place in the country of his adoption. I had it much at heart to establish a school of instruction on the constitutional law, now become the basis of the French government. An attempt of this kind had been made a few months after the Revolution of 1830. A chair of public French Justice had been established in the Faculty of Law at Toulouse, in favour of a distinguished and popular citizen, M. Romiguières,

who afterwards became Attorney-General in the royal court of that city, and a member of the house of Peers. I was anxious that this branch of instruction should be inaugurated with more efficacy and éclat, under its proper name, in the centre of superior education, and that the constitutional Charter should be explained in its true sense, before the numerous students in the School of Law at Paris. I proposed to the King, who acceded to it, the creation of a chair of constitutional Law in that school; and on the same day, when the "Moniteur" published a report explaining the motives and precise object of the new professorship, I appointed M. Rossi to the office.[1]

This nomination, although more vehemently disputed than the former one, appeared nevertheless at first to excite only the attacks of habitual oppositionists and the spleen of professional rivals. But when, at the annual opening of the school, on the 29th of November, 1834, M. Rossi commenced his course on constitutional Law, he was assailed by clamorous interruptions, which prevented him from finishing the lecture. Thrice on the appointed days he ascended the pulpit, and endeavoured in vain to proceed with his exposition. The disturbers were in a minority. A great number of auditors, the serious and liberal-minded students, endeavoured by cries of "Order!" and by applauding the professor, to contend against the tumult, but invariably failed. There was evidently a petty organized revolt in the school, in which those ignorant and turbulent pupils readily joined who believed that by such con-

[1] See Historic Documents, No. VI.

duct they should gratify some of their masters, and felt pleasure at being supported by the usual outside seditionaries. To these continued disorders, and to the insults that threatened to become violent, M. Rossi opposed his persevering coolness and a few appropriate words. On each renewed scene, when he left the school, he came to tell me what had passed, and to concert future proceedings; somewhat surprised, as a liberal refugee, invited to establish a liberal school of instruction, to encounter, both against the man and his undertaking, this low and savage opposition. The council of Ministers and the Royal council of Public Instruction, to which I reported the circumstance, agreed with me that, after having arrested some of the conspirators, it would be necessary to institute an inquiry into the causes of the tumult, to intimidate hostile intrigues, and to suspend the course of lectures until the inquiry was over, that excited spirits might thereby find an opportunity of calming down. Both measures attained their end. The enemies began to be a little ashamed, and the turbulent to grow tired. M. Rossi recommenced his course, and a few years after, with the universal approbation of the students and his fellow-professors, he became dean of that very school of Law which he had entered with so much animosity and opposition.

He was admirably adapted to surmount obstacles, to dissipate hostile prejudices, and to conciliate ill-disposed minds, provided he could obtain the necessary time. In reality, he was full of passion and authoritativeness, but they never showed themselves on the instant, nor with that impulsive and external energy

which overawes and subdues parliamentary or popular tumults. Apparently cold, deliberate, and scornful, he exercised a more powerful action upon individuals than over masses, and was better qualified to please and conquer in a tête-à-tête conversation than when surrounded by the confusion and changes of a crowd collected either in an assembly or a revolt. While the disorders excited on the occasion of his opening course became almost a government affair, the King said to me, "Are you quite sure that the man is worth the embarrassment he causes us?"—"Infinitely more, Sire," I replied: "the King will one day make M. Rossi something far greater than a professor of constitutional law." "In that case," rejoined his Majesty, "you are right; let us support him firmly."

At the same period, I had some intercourse with a person who has made, I will not say some noise—for nothing could be less noisy—but who has produced considerable effect even beyond France amongst reflecting minds, and whose ideas have passed into the *credo* of a small philosophical sect. These new professorships, founded in the college of France and in the Faculties, gave movement to every kind of literary ambition. M. Auguste Comte, the author of what has been called by others, and entitled by himself, "Positive Philosophy," requested to see me. He was a perfect stranger, whose name even I had never heard mentioned. I received him, and we conversed some time together. He requested me to establish for him in the college of France a chair of General History and of Physical and Mathematical Science. To convince me of the

necessity of this, he expounded, heavily and confusedly, his views upon man, society, religion, philosophy, and history. He was simple-minded and honest, thoroughly satisfied with his own opinions, modest in outward manner, though in reality prodigiously proud, and believing sincerely that he was destined to inaugurate a new era for human civilization. While listening to him, I found it difficult to restrain the open expression of my astonishment, that a mind so vigorous should at the same time be so limited as not to catch even a glimpse of the nature and bearing of the facts he handled, or the questions he disposed of; and that a character so disinterested should not be convinced by his own feelings, moral in spite of himself, of the immoral falsity of his ideas. Such is the condition of mathematical materialism. I made no attempt even to argue with M. Comte. His sincerity, his devotion, and his blindness inspired me with that mournful esteem which takes refuge in silence. Soon after, he addressed a long letter to me, repeating his request for the professorship, the establishment of which he looked upon as equally indispensable to science and to society.[1] Had I agreed in this, assuredly I should never have dreamed for a moment of bestowing it upon him.

The two chairs conferred successively on M. Rossi, revived in the Chambers and in the journals a question already several times debated, and destined to new discussions, namely, that of plurality of office and salary in the departments of literature, science, and superior instruction; for to these it is almost entirely

[1] See Historic Documents, No. VII.

and of necessity confined. This was the reiterated expression of that jealous parsimony which bitterly assails the worldly comfort of those hard-working men, the greater portion of whom are distinguished, some illustrious, and nearly all without personal fortune; and doles out to them the produce, always extremely moderate, of their long labours. In this there is not only shameful injustice, but mistaken calculation; a forgetfulnes of individual rights and national interests. If a list were drawn up of the men who from 1830 to 1848 held more than one employment, either in instruction, science, or literature, we should find at the head, and in a majority, professors of all the different intellectual pursuits; men who in the application of science, as in science itself, were the best able to serve, and have in fact the most effectually served the state in the various posts confided to them. It is in the cases of such officers that objections have been raised, sometimes to their salaries, at others to their apartments, and even to the assistants they asked for after many years of active exertion. Some, to escape from these painful attacks, voluntarily resigned a certain portion of their duties; others, who had hoped to end their days under the same roof with the collections they had charge of, or the establishments they directed, saw themselves compelled to live beyond the dwelling-places of their minds, or the implements of their work. And even with those who were not reached by this paltry and inferior warfare, the attempt left in their hearts a bitter feeling of resentment against ungrateful and narrow-minded authority.

I insert here, in its literal text, a letter addressed to me on this subject by one of our most eminent naturalists, the colleague and, according to some, the scientific rival of Cuvier, M. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire. He had been accused in the Chamber of Deputies of occupying in the Botanical Garden a house containing sixty rooms. He wrote to me on the instant, dated the 8th April, 1833:—

"SIR AND MINISTER,

"THE personal staff of the Museum of Natural History is placed under the superintendence of the two ministers of Public Instruction and Public Works. For our lodgings we depend on the latter department. Being attacked in the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies on Friday last for occupying apartments in the Royal Garden, I have defended myself to his excellency M. Thiers. Permit me, I entreat you, to address to your excellency a similar justification.

"The deputy M. L'Herbette has thought proper to denounce the house I occupy in the buildings belonging to the state as *too ostentatious*, and consisting of sixty rooms. The entire statement is a falsehood. Between the two periods of M. L'Herbette's charges, the premises have been inspected by another deputy, a member of the committee of the budget, M. Prunelle. This honourable member of the Chamber has personally examined my abode, to the attics and the roof. The staircase by which he ascended could scarcely admit him; both skirts of his coat touched the walls at the same time, and the entire dwelling is of corresponding proportions.

"Formerly private property, the cottage I occupy, which consists of a ground-floor, under the roof, was used as the residence of a foreman, placed under the control of a master-mason. A description of the premises, including a minute enumeration of all the wooden partitions in every small corner, whether light or dark, was purposely communicated to M. L'Herbette, and has given rise to the illusions in which that deputy has indulged.

"If, after forty years of uninterrupted labour (my appointment to the Royal Garden, in place of Lacépède, dates from March, 1793), if, after this lapse of time, and the prosecution of researches commencing daily at three or four o'clock in the morning, I had devoted my activity to a trade, I should now be a rich man. On the contrary, I have impoverished myself, having consumed a great portion of my patrimony in purchasing the materials and books indispensable to my pursuits, and also by publishing, at my own expense, ideas which, unintelligible from their novelty, and utterly unpopular, yield no pecuniary profit, and are destined to prepare new bases for philosophy in future times.

"I have never asked, and consequently have obtained nothing from governments which respond to those by whom they are beset; nothing, unless I reckon the silver cross bestowed on me by Napoleon of his own accord. Far from tormenting the high authorities, I have lived in the retirement alone favourable to labour; and now, at the end of a career of forty years, I am made the subject of discussion and reproach, because the humble roof that covers me is

unjustly represented as too spacious and luxurious. My cottage, hitherto envied by no one, and in which I delight to dwell, suffices for me, it is true, for my pretensions confine themselves to the mediocrity commended by the poets of true philosophy.

"If your excellency considers what I now say exaggerated, will you please to order another investigation of my abode? If it should be found too spacious, and I am sentenced to be driven from it, I am ready, as are all discoverers, to encounter every sacrifice; ready, without a murmur, to wander about the world with the staff of poverty in my hand, until my old age encounters and welcomes eternal rest."

It is no trifling evil for a government to inspire such men with sentiments like these; and the friends of the parliamentary system are not sufficiently aware of how much it is damaged by this mean and meddling inquisition, which can discover nothing in the least important, as in the highest functions, but over-paid servants, whose perquisites or salaries it fancies itself called upon to reduce. During the whole period of my administration, I strenuously opposed this disposition, and in many cases with success. When we deal in political assemblies with subjects that involve the intellectual credit and interest of the country, we ought not to shrink from proposing, demanding, and insisting on an appeal to liberal ideas and generous sentiments. We often gain more than we look for, and when we fail we suffer little from the check. Amongst the men engaged in the career of science, one class particularly inspired me with warm personal sympathy. These were the

learned travellers, those hardy pioneers of knowledge and intelligence, who, to win for their country new acquirements and relations, to augment her fame or resources, exhaust in distant lands, and in all gradations of suffering and danger, their youth, their courage, their health, their lives, and when they return to their domestic hearths, do not always resume even the modest position they held on quitting home, or feel assured of being able to place before the public the new intellectual treasures amassed for their advantage. In 1832 and 1833, I found myself brought into immediate contact, not with the persons, but already with the memories of two of the most illustrious of these hero-martyrs of science, Champollion the younger and Victor Jacquemont, both dead, the one at forty-one, the other at thirty-one, mutual victims of their fatigues and labours, and reciprocally leaving unedited and buried with their families, the manuscripts and collections, the produce of their genius, and the pride of their lives. A few days after my entry into the ministry of Public Instruction, M. de Tracy spoke to me of Victor Jacquemont, ill and dying in India, without its being known in Paris. A sum had been granted to him for his voyage, and a salary so utterly insufficient that he would have languished in helplessness and poverty, if the friendship of Lord William Bentinck, at that time Governor-General of India, had not stepped in to relieve him. When, at the close of the seventeenth century, the indefatigable opponent of Louis XIV. and of France, William III. watched over with a tender solicitude, somewhat surprising to us,

the son of J. W. Bentinck, his intimate and almost his only friend, he little imagined that, nearly a century and a half later, another Bentinck, ruler in the name of England over a vast empire in Asia, would render the same affectionate service to a solitary young French traveller, separated by an immense distance from his own country. It gives me pleasure to connect these reminiscences which attest the progress of generous and friendly habits between France and England. I hastened to double the allowance of Victor Jacquemont, a trivial act of justice which arrived too late. When it was known in Paris that he had died of cholera at Bombay, I entered into an arrangement with his family and friends to secure the publication of the "Journal" and "Collections" of his voyage;—a great work, filled with valuable notes and drawings, as well as with learned investigations, and as interesting for cultivated minds to read, as curious for professed geologists and naturalists to study. The memorials and labours of Champollion the younger called for even a more marked testimonial. I presented a bill to the Chambers decreeing the purchase of his manuscripts, the publication of which I immediately ordered to be commenced, and the allotment of a pension to his widow of 3,000 francs. By a similar and simultaneous bill, the library of M. Cuvier was bought by the state, and his widow, in addition to a pension of 6,000 francs, was permitted to occupy for life the residence of her deceased husband in the Botanical Garden.

These were acts of administration of special amendment and personal justice, which neither embraced nor

announced any great reform in our general system of superior instruction. I contemplated, however, several, important but difficult, and for which the public, the government, and the University were but little anxious or ill prepared.

No one as yet demanded, or at least persevered in requiring that the principle of unrestricted teaching should be applied to superior instruction. In point of fact, the degree of liberty already extensively permitted in that particular branch of national education satisfied the general desire. As a principle, the good sense of the public foresaw the extreme danger, and therefore the impossibility, of according to the first comer the right of opening a place of assembly for all who might follow; of elevating a pulpit there, and of professing openly on all educational matters connected with the higher department, every opinion or idea which might cross the human mind. What were the limits to be assigned to this privilege, and the securities to be required for its proper exercise? These points were rather glanced at than formally laid down, and the authorities were under no practical or pressing necessity of bringing them to a solution. It is exactly at such a moment that it becomes a judicious government to grapple with and determine similar questions, and this they can then do with foresight and moderation, without being driven to a struggle against passions or systems already in full vigour; and by placing strong guarantees for order and public morals in close proximity with a freedom as yet but sparingly familiarised. I felt convinced that, before long, with the natural progress of

ideas and institutions, the same amount of liberty would be demanded for superior education as for the elementary and secondary branches, and I was anxious that this desire, when it became pressing, should already find itself regulated and restrained as well as satisfied.

The institution of substitutes in various faculties presented a natural mode of accomplishing this end. These professors, still young, and waiting for vacancies, elected by their masters after the trying ordeal of competition, existed since the year 1823, in the faculty of medicine; and, under the title of deputy lecturers, in that of law, into which they were admitted to assist the professors in actual office. In 1840, M. Cousin, at that time minister of Public Instruction, extended this arrangement to the faculties of literature and the sciences, and gave it full exercise by allowing these substitutes, in every faculty, to have their own free courses of lectures in common with those delivered by the titular professors of the state. This was exactly what I proposed to do in 1835, with the view of opening to superior instruction, a convenient locality for the principle of liberty. I should probably have regulated the conditions on a different plan from that of M. Cousin. I might have given liberty some additional securities, in regard either to the opening or suspension of the lectures of the deputies, and have added considerably to the power invested in the faculties themselves, of intervention between the minister of Public Instruction and the free professors. But in itself, and in its essential provisions, the measure was an excellent one, and had it been carried out in the spirit of its conception, it would have

realized, in superior education, one of the principal improvements I proposed to introduce.

On another point of reform, much more important, M. Cousin and I held also similar opinions. I have already spoken in these "Memoirs" of the part I had taken in the decree of the 17th of February, 1815, issued by King Louis XVIII., for the general organization and system of the University. Its object was to uncentralize, as the modern phrase runs, not the government of public instruction, but education itself, and particularly the higher department. It established, much too numerously, private universities, distributed through various parts of the country, in which every section of superior learning was included;—literature, philosophy, history, the mathematics, and physical sciences, law and medicine; the entire range of human knowledge, and all the acquirements necessary for the liberal professions. We cannot deceive ourselves as to the following fact: if we cast our looks throughout France, we shall see, everywhere, except in Paris, these noble studies on the decline. While the general level of primary and industrial education exalts itself, that of superior instruction and lofty intellectual development has become abased; and France of the present day, far better provided than formerly with elementary schools and good practical scholars in many classes, contains, beyond the capital, a much smaller number of minds richly endowed and nobly ambitious than she possessed in 1789, when the Constituent Assembly sprang suddenly from her bosom. I place great value on elementary and practical knowledge. It is the daily bread of nations; but the Gospel

tells us "man shall not live by bread alone." When nations have become great, and seek to preserve their eminence, the lofty cultivation of the mind ought not to remain a rare phenomenon, concentrated exclusively on the summit of the social system. This, unfortunately, is the state of things at present. Paris morally allures and absorbs all France. Material wealth and comfort increase everywhere, but towards the capital alone minds direct themselves and ambitions aspire. We no longer see in our departments, as in the provinces formerly, men eminent for their intellectual lights and tastes, as for their social position, remaining stationary in their native towns or districts, actively and contentedly employed, disseminating around them the treasures of their knowledge, and the resources of their fortune. Political economists complain that population flows beyond measure towards the great cities; above all, in the direction of Paris. Moralists have even more reason to reiterate the same regret, for the attraction of intellectual life to the metropolis not only tends to enervate and extinguish it in the provinces, but changes, weakens, and corrupts it in the very focus of concentration. A great nation requires something more than cultivated and enlightened minds. It demands varied, original, unfettered spirits, who labour independently, think without restraint, and continue, while gradually developing their powers, what nature and the particular accidents of their destiny have made them. Now, few minds preserve these valuable qualities, unless when they expand and live where they were born, receiving light from every point of the horizon that presents it,

but without removing from the paternal soil. Man can live everywhere, body and soul; nevertheless, he loses by transplantation much of his individual beauty and natural vigour. National unity is admirable, assimilation of weights and measures is good, but uniformity of minds sooner or later leads to their weakness or servitude; a result as much to be lamented for the liberty of a nation as for its honour and influence in the world.

I do not believe that three or four universities, placed here and there at a distance from Paris, could possess the virtue of curing this evil, produced and fomented by so many causes, some of them, perhaps, insurmountable. But of all the remedies available in such a case, this appears to be one of the readiest and most efficacious. Many powerful ties, both of feeling and interest, attach men to the scenes of their birth and infancy, and these bonds exert their empire over active spirits thirsting for study and science, as also upon less aspiring temperaments, whose desires are limited to the cultivation of the fields, or to following, under the natal roof, the business of their fathers. Men who are warmly imbued with intellectual ambition are induced to leave their native town or district, because they cannot find there the means of reaching the object to which they aspire, and the enjoyments, when once that end is attained, with which they can no longer dispense. Let there be established in various parts of France, great centres of study and intellectual life, where literature and science may open to their adepts sound lessons, the instruments of their labour, honourable careers, the gratifications of self-respect, and the plea-

sures of cultivated society: undoubtedly, eminent professors, and young men of rising reputation, will willingly resort thither, where they find so many advantages combined, and within their reach. They will gradually draw after them, and form there, a public animated by similar tastes and sensible of the same allurements; and Paris, without ceasing to be our great theatre of literary and scientific activity, will no longer be the abyss in which so many spirits capable of a more useful life, and worthy of a better fortune, are swallowed up and lost.

But to respond to their destination, such establishments require to be complete and distinguished. If scientific or economic parsimony interferes, it will strangle them in the moment of their birth. In these new universities, and their various faculties of literature, science, law, medicine, and theology (supposing the church to co-operate), it is essential that the object and number of the chairs should be in accordance with the existing state of knowledge, and that the circumstances of the professors should be made permanent, honourable, and easy.

An object so important calls upon the state for the indispensable sacrifices. It is, moreover, the disposition of our country to doubt the success of innovations, unless they are bold and grand. To obtain a favourable reception for newly founded establishments, much should be done and required. I therefore intended, when proposing to the Chambers the creation of local universities, to explain this scheme of superior instruction in its complete extent, and to demand all the

conditions necessary for its success. I had studied the difficult question of the most eligible places in which to revive and encourage such establishments. The four towns of Strasbourg, Rennes, Toulouse, and Montpellier, appeared to offer the most favourable chances, and to satisfy, better than any others, the general necessities of France. I should have introduced, in this respect, a comprehensive bill, with the view of obtaining a complete result at one blow. When M. Cousin, in 1840, attempted the execution of the same idea, he adopted a different line of proceeding, and confined himself to asking for Rennes alone, already endowed with faculties of law and general literature, the creation of two others, in science and medicine, introducing his bill as an experiment and sample of "the great centres of superior instruction which the government intended to create at certain points of France." Even restricted as it was within these narrow limits, the proposal suffered further mutilation. The Chamber of Deputies rejected its most important condition, the establishment of a faculty of medicine at Rennes. A bolder and more exacting bill would, in my opinion, have met with greater success.

A third reform, moral rather than scientific, was, of all my projects with regard to superior instruction, that on which I was most intent.

When I visited the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, one point struck me in particular,—discipline united with liberty; the masters present and vigilant in the midst of a community of youths enjoying a high degree of independence, and teaching still con-

tinued at the age of emancipation and superior studies. The scholars live—the greater number, at least—within the walls of the different colleges of which these Universities are composed; left much to themselves in their private apartments, but taking their meals together; expected to attend public prayers every day, and to be in by a fixed hour at night; subject to certain rules and customs, which recall the interior economy of a family,—submission of many to one, and respect for authority,—and restrain within strict duties and powerful influences the already effervescing temperament of those fresh generations, who approach the moment when they in turn will assume possession of the world. There are many young men at Oxford and Cambridge, who study very little, lead irregular lives, gamble, commit baneful excesses, and run into debt; there is much liberty, but the rules are in force and make themselves felt. Authority lives in the bosom of freedom, and is present to the mind though it may fail to control the act. It is in small secluded towns, exclusively devoted to study, and far removed from the great centres of population and movement, where educational establishments meet the eye at every turn, and the pupils are incessantly in presence of their teachers, that the youth of England are trained up, under a special and wholesome system, neither subjected to vexatious exactions nor left to themselves in an undistinguished crowd; moderately enough instructed in certain points, but morally restrained and disciplined at the moment of trying their strength, and in the difficult passage from boyhood to manly maturity.

What a contrast between this system and the position of the youths who hurry to Paris to complete their higher studies, and to qualify themselves for their future professions! On leaving their schools and families, they are thrown into this immense city, alone, without guardian or counsellor; entirely emancipated from all authority and restriction, lost in the crowd, and in the obscurity of their lives a prey to all the weariness of isolation, to all the contagious temptations of passion, inexperience, opportunity, and example, without moral check or support, at the exact epoch when they stand in the most urgent need of both. I have never reflected without a profound sentiment of grief on the deplorable condition of the young men who pour in crowds into our great seminaries. No one knows or is able to calculate how many of our children lose themselves entirely under this irregular and unrestricted trial, or what traces of it remain, through the whole course of their after lives on the minds, ideas, and characters of those whom it has not utterly overthrown.

Why should we not place by the side of our great colleges of superior instruction, establishments in which our youths might recognise some traces of the domestic hearth, and would live in a certain communion, with enough of personal independence and liberty, but subject also to prescribed discipline, watched and sustained in their conduct, while assisted and encouraged in their studies? At the head of these institutions should be placed well-informed, respected men, fathers of families, disposed to take a serious interest in the moral cultivation as in the studies of their young guests, or qualified to lead

them by personal influence. It was with this view, and almost under this form that those colleges were provided in various provinces, anciently called *nations*, where the students, flocking to the lessons of the University of Paris, resided and lived in common. The forms, regulations, and customs, of such houses must in our days be, of necessity, very different from what they formerly were; but the idea and the result might be the same. The young students would be equally protected from irregularity and isolation. Out of respect to present habits and manners, I would prescribe nothing obligatory on these points. The students who preferred it might live alone and in the crowd, as they do now; but the moral advantages of the social companionship I am speaking of, would be so evident, and it would be so easy to combine with them many valuable aids to study also, that a great majority of the fathers of families would not hesitate to prefer it for their sons.

Such was the institution I proposed to found, and the example I wished to supply of prolonging education in the higher departments, and of exercising a certain degree of moral influence over young minds in their passage from the college to the world. Far from desiring to place such establishments under the control of the state alone, I was anxious, on the contrary, that a certain number should at the same time be instituted, different in origin and tendency, and perfectly independent. I explained this idea to a worthy Catholic divine and to a pious bishop, who entertained it favourably, and seemed disposed to support by their patronage a foundation of this character. I also conversed on the

subject with several of my Protestant friends, who desired nothing better than to promote in concert, for the students of their own communion, the opening of such a centre of regular and laborious life. Objections and difficulties beset the first steps of every sincere reformer, nevertheless there are many chances of success when the moving authority is not afraid of compromising itself, and accepts unhesitatingly the co-operation of liberty.

But what is most wanting to arduous enterprises, in the present day, is—time; we can scarcely command a few hours of undisturbed or effectual activity. We live in the midst of tempests or dead calms, condemned alternately to shipwreck or inaction. More rapid and controlling than ourselves, events carry away our ideas and intentions before they have passed into facts, and not unfrequently before they have even ripened into attempts. I have perhaps less to complain of than others from this unremitting commotion of my own time, since, as minister of Public Instruction, I have been able to leave some enduring traces of my passage. Nevertheless, I cannot banish certain feelings of regret when my thoughts revert to the projects I had formed, believing them to be salutary, and of which not even a glimpse was permitted to appear. I shall presently explain how the politics of that epoch stepped in to impede them, and involved me in questions and contests very different from those to which I now refer.

CHAPTER V.

ACADEMIES AND LITERARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ACADEMY OF MORAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES IN THE INSTITUTE.—MOTIVES AND OBJECTIONS.—LETTER FROM M. ROYER-COLLARD.—I COMMUNICATE MY PLAN TO THE SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE OLD CLASS OF MORAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES.—THE ABBÉ SIÈYES.—COUNT ROEDERER.—M. DAUNOU.—NEW ELECTIONS.—M. LAKANAL.—OF THE LABOURS OF THE ACADEMY OF MORAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCES, AND OF THE GENERAL UTILITY OF ACADEMIES.—MY COMMUNICATIONS WITH THE LEARNED SOCIETIES OF THE DEPARTMENTS.—ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ESTABLISHMENTS.—FALSE IDEAS ON THIS SUBJECT.—ON THE SUPPRESSION OF APARTMENTS FOR THE KEEPERS AND OFFICERS IN THE INTERIOR OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS.—REFORMS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE ROYAL LIBRARY.—INCREASE OF THE BUDGET FOR LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ESTABLISHMENTS.—NEW BUILDINGS IN THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY.

I ENTERED on the ministry of Public Instruction profoundly convinced that the time had arrived when it became an object of the first importance for the government of France, under whatever name it might be carried on, to show itself not only without fear, but an encouraging protector of all the labours of the human mind, including with every other field of exercise, that of the moral and political sciences. I cannot imagine, in the present day, a more false or damaging position for power, than to be looked upon as a suspicious and systematic opponent of intellectual activity, even when, entirely divested of incidental views or party bias, that

activity applies itself exclusively to the investigation of truth. I know the potent ties which connect abstract ideas with the positive interests of society, and how rapid is the transition from principles to facts, from theory to application. I am also aware that there are times and places in which truth, though general and purely scientific, may become perilous and embarrassing to established order. I abstain from discussing this difficult position; I think only of my own country and my own time. At the point of national life we have now reached, after the experiments we have tried, and the scenes we have witnessed, order and authority, far from having anything to fear from the free, serious, and scientific development of human intelligence, should draw from it additional strength and support. Many and dangerous errors will still rise up; but in the elevated regions of intelligence and society, dangerous errors, moral or political, have ceased to sail before the wind; they are speedily recognized, opposed, and cried down. It is no longer with the higher but with the lower classes that theories calculated to promote disorder are favourably received and readily attain influence; it is not from the educated but from the ignorant world that they are to be apprehended or checked when they appear. In exalted life, the tendency of minds is to correct and purify themselves. It is in the obscurest stations, and emanating from inferior quarters, that malignant spirits now congregate and ferment, perpetually increasing in their perversity. Let the government learn to place confidence in intellectual progress above; it promises help, not danger. And let it be indefatigable in resisting

intellectual disorder below: facts will too frequently supply the occasion and necessity. For if it be true that amongst the lower orders, at present, errors of the imagination are active and contagious, it is there also that they rapidly transform themselves into anarchical passions and destructive deeds, and fall under the just attacks of authority.

It was with these views and hopes thus limited, that a few days after the formation of the cabinet, I proposed to the King, to re-establish, in the Institute, the class of moral and political sciences, founded in 1795 by the Convention, and suppressed in 1803 by Napoleon, at that time First Consul. Lately, at the highest point of the political and intellectual orgies of 1848, General Cavaignac, then at the head of the Republican Government, called upon that Academy to strengthen in the public mind, by the publication of little works profusely circulated, the fundamental principles of social order,—marriage, family ties, property, respect, and duty. With a good intent he essentially deceived himself as to the nature of the labours of such a community and the range of their action. It exceeds the province of science to repress anarchy, and to bring back the bewildered masses to reason and virtue. For such an undertaking, higher and more universal powers are wanting;—God and calamity. It is in regular times, by a just satisfaction given, and a wholesome direction imparted to elevated and enlightened minds, that learned associations can exercise a salutary influence for the advantage of intellectual order, and may lend to power itself, if it knows how to maintain mutual relations, an

indirect but useful support. This was the result, neither more nor less, that I promised myself from the academy of moral and political sciences. The King and the cabinet eagerly adopted the proposition.

Nevertheless it encountered serious objections, and there were men of sound judgment who received it with little favour. In my own party, and amongst the firmest supporters of our policy, more than one had a strong mistrust of speculative philosophy, and doubted whether, with the wisest intentions, it could help to strengthen order and authority. Others saw with regret, men, notorious in the worst times of the revolution, restored to honour in behalf of science, and in despite of the unpleasant reminiscences associated with their names. The first and inevitable consequence of the proposed measure, was, in fact, to call back, as the nucleus of the new academy, the twelve members still living of the old class of moral and political sciences. Two amongst them, the Abbé Sièyes and M. Merlin de Douai, had voted for the death of Louis XVI. A third, M. Garat, was minister of Justice at that sanguinary period, and read the King's sentence to him. Nearly all belonged to the sensualistic school of the eighteenth century, and accorded ill with spiritual philosophy and the sentiment of religion. The return of such an influence produced uneasiness, and a feeling of sorrow that the government should appear to become its patron.

I encountered an unanswerable evidence of this feeling in a portion of the public. M. Royer-Collard, who was absent at the moment when the restored academy was preparing to complete itself by the election of new

members, wrote to me thus: "If the public and the literary world take much interest in your academy of moral and political sciences, you have done well as regards yourself; but as it appears to me little better than an absurdity, a mere common-place revival, raised, moreover, on conventional and revolutionary foundations, I have no desire whatever to figure there. I have written to this effect, and some days since, to Cousin. Remove therefore my name." In compliance with this wish, a name so naturally associated with the institution was at once withdrawn.

M. Royer-Collard was perfectly at liberty, in this circumstance, to consult his own personal tastes and dislikes; but in my position, I should have done very wrong had I acted under a similar impulse. In my public capacity I had two duties to discharge: the one, to re-establish a scientific institution which I thought good; the other, to place this institution beyond the pale of political resentments and dissensions, even though they might be legitimate. I well know that philosophical ideas, very contrary to my own, prevailed in that class of the Institute, from its original foundation, and would re-appear with its revival; but I had no fear, that within the enclosure I thus opened to them, these ideas could become powerful or formidable; and the objections of a few reminiscences of the revolution, were, in my judgment, very insignificant, in comparison with the present and future advantages of that brilliant demonstration, in the bosom of a free country, of the confidence of authority in the laborious and well-considered liberty of the human mind.

The measure being decided, I hesitated as little on the mode of execution as on the principle. I determined to make no academic appointment by royal decree. Election is the essence of all learned bodies, to which no one can be worthily admitted except by the choice of his peers. I remembered that an old and faithful royalist, the Abbé de Montesquieu, appointed in 1816 to the French Academy, by a royal decree which removed from that community several of its members, had always refused to take his seat there, saying, "I am no academician; academicians are not made by the King." I even withheld the decree of re-establishment until I had concerted its arrangements with the surviving members of the old class of moral and political sciences who were to resume their functions. I have as little taste for the forms as for the maxims of absolute power; I am easy and satisfied, as regards myself, in testifying towards all with whom I may be placed in intercourse, the respect due to intelligent and free beings. Setting aside my personal bias, power, in a majority of cases, derives much more advantage from accepting frankly the assistance of previous labour and deliberation, than from blindly provoking criticism by abrupt decision, according to its exclusive knowledge and fantasy. When it acts thus, it is more frequently from laziness and want of skill, than from necessity or prudence. Having determined to communicate to the old academicians the basis of my plan, I sought amongst them the one most likely to understand my views, and possessing the greatest degree of influence over his colleagues. Of all the survivors, the

Abbé Sièyes had the greatest reputation. I went to visit him accordingly. I had some difficulty in being admitted, and found him in extreme prostration of mind and memory. For a moment, during our short interview, the name of the class of moral and political sciences appeared to revive within him a flash of interest,—an unsteady glimmer which rapidly disappeared. I at once gave up the idea of all intervention on his part in the negotiation I meditated. Looking over the other names, Count Rœderer appeared the most eligible for my purpose. He was a man of open disposition, flexible, judicious, liberal, learned, and despite the prepossession of many prejudices belonging to his time, exempt from passion and party obstinacy in practical matters. He was at his country residence at Matignan, and at my urgent request came immediately to Paris. I communicated to him my plan, and my views for its execution; requesting him at the same time to call his old associates together, and discuss the matter with them. He undertook the office with ardour, and on the 24th of October, I received from him the following letter:—

" SIR,

" I HAVE read to the old members of the class of moral sciences of the Institute, the letter which you have done me the honour to address to me this morning.

"They highly approve the re-establishment of this class.

"They think, that without dividing it into sections, it

would be better to combine in a general article the duties of the sections, and to add to them the *philosophy of history* (or the methods to be adopted in historical compositions, so as to render them, as far as possible, advantageous to morality and policy).

"They conceive that this class should be limited to thirty members, and receive the title of *Academy of Moral and Political Sciences.*

"They consider as a consequence of the restoration of this class, the restoration of all the still surviving members, and, in addition, that of two members who were only associates at the time of the dissolution, but who have since received the electoral character in one of the existing classes.

"They think it desirable to add four members to elect the fifteen others who are to make up the complement of the academy; but they are also of opinion that this addition should be made by means of *regular election*, and that no election can be considered regular until after the issuing of the decree for re-establishment.

"They think that the election ought to take place at three periods. The first, immediately after the publication of the decree: this will name the four new assistants.

"At the second election, the fifteen members, formed by the addition of the above-named assistants to the eleven old members, will name eight more, amounting in all to twenty-three.

"At the third election, the twenty-three members, will name the seven who are to complete the full number of the class.

"Such, sir, is the result of our long deliberation, during which all present expressed the most favourable sentiments towards the proposed plan."

Everything in this letter was in perfect accordance with the ideas I had communicated to M. Rœderer, and the decree followed immediately. But when we came to its execution, and first of all to the election, by the old members, of the four assistants, who, in concert with them, were to complete the academy, many rivalries, susceptibilities, and philosophical suspicions began to appear. The four assistants were to be taken from the other classes of the Institute, and amongst the names placed foremost for choice, there appeared, very naturally, that of M. Cousin. M. Daunou rejected it; not, as he said, that he desired absolutely to exclude M. Cousin from the academy; he considered it proper and even necessary that he should become a member; but he asked that he should be elected at a later period, and on the final completion of the class. Being pressed by objections and interrogatories, he replied that he did not wish, by electing M. Cousin amongst the four first assistants, to give him an influence in the following elections, which he might abuse "for the advantage of his own doctrinal party against ours." As the discussion continued, M. Daunou ended by saying that he had no objection to the government taking upon itself the appointment of the four assistants, in the decree for the restoration of the academy, and to the inclusion of M. Cousin in the number; "in such a course there would be no deviation from the examples of the past, and nothing could be said against it." M. Merlin

accorded with this opinion. These academicians thus renounced their exclusive right to elect colleagues, and provoked the government to an act of its own will to save themselves the embarrassment of rejecting, or the arrogance of admitting a candidate whose philosophical doctrines disturbed their own. I declared that I would never propose to the King to name the academicians himself, and that the old members of the re-established class were perfectly free to elect the four first assistants according to their pleasure. The election took place accordingly. I do not know how M. Daunou voted, but M. Cousin was amongst the chosen four. The fifteen thus combined, completed the full number by two successive elections, adding respectively eight and seven new members; and on the 4th of January, 1833, M. Roederer opened the session of the Academy thus definitely constituted, by a speech replete with joyful satisfaction, and hopes a little inflated on the score of philosophy;—a persevering characteristic of the brilliant and stirring generation to which he belonged.

Two years later I met with a remarkable instance of the confident and energetic activity of these surviving relics of 1789, in the simplest as in the most important circumstances of life. I happened one morning, in company with others, to be at the house of M. de Talleyrand, who had come on leave from London to Paris. "Gentlemen," he said to us, with a smile of satisfaction almost youthful, which I have more than once seen on his cold features, "I must mention to you what happened to me yesterday. I went to the Chamber of Peers; when I entered the hall we only counted six

who had arrived—M. de Montlosier, the Duke de Castries, M. Rœderer, Count Lemercier (I forget who he named as the fifth), and myself. We had all sat in the Constituent Assembly, and were all more than eighty years of age." These stanch old men were delighted to see and remark that they were still first at their post.

Another ancient, a wreck of an assembly no less celebrated, and who probably thought himself equally renowned by the great scenes and terrible consummation in which he had participated, M. Lakanal, a member of the National Convention, and one of those who voted for the death of Louis XVI., had also been a member of the old class of moral and political sciences. It was he who, in 1795, had proposed and carried in the Convention, the fundamental regulation of the Institute, and the list of original members. In 1832, when the re-establishment of the academy to which he had belonged came under consideration, no one, not even amongst his former colleagues, either thought of or inquired as to what had become of him. He was believed to be dead, and was entirely forgotten. Nevertheless he still survived, and had become a settler in one of the recently incorporated states of America, Alabama,—at that time the extreme limit between civilization and savage life. There he heard of the revival of his academy, and of the re-enrolment of his old associates. He wrote to me, demanding his privilege of resuming place amongst them. This indisputable claim was transmitted to the whole body. The death of M. Garat at that precise moment left a vacancy open in the department of morals. M. Lakanal succeeded to it by right and without

election. As soon as I communicated this to him, he hesitated on returning to France, and in reply, offered his services in the United States. His letter was a singular mixture of just and confused ideas, of experimental prudence and fidelity to his revolutionary remembrances.[1] I declined his offer; M. Lakanal then returned to France, resumed his seat in the academy, and died in 1845, still obscure, but with all the accompanying honours to which his position entitled him.

In active exercise for twenty-seven years, the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences has fully demonstrated itself and justified its foundation. It has never been governed by the spirit of political party or philosophic intolerance. Some symptoms have occasionally appeared there as the natural consequences of liberty, but they have always been counterbalanced and restrained. Such a result arises from the continual intercourse of men differing in position and opinions, but united in a common predilection and respect for science and truth. In its dealings, whether with the public or the government, the academy has invariably given proofs of independence and moderation. On all occasions it has strenuously opposed disorder, and boldly seconded the regular progress of mind. The published reports of their sittings and the collection of their papers attest the intellectual activity of the members. By the emulation it has excited and the questions proposed, it has given rise, beyond its own immediate sphere of action, to many important and some very remarkable labours in philosophy, history, legislation,

[1] See Historic Documents, No. VIII.

political economy, and all the beautiful and difficult sciences to which it is devoted. Men of merit, previously unknown, laborious and distinguished youths, have been brought into notice and placed on the track of elevated study and substantial success. Nothing can be more ill-timed and unintelligent in the present day than opposition to academies. We live under a state of society more equally balanced and more careful of the general good than has hitherto prevailed in the greater part of human associations; but we are deficient in varied centres, enduring groups, strongly cemented aggregations, and independent impulses. We have a society at once dissolved and concentrated, which exhibits everywhere the insulated individual in face of the all-powerful unity of the State. We have long sought, and hitherto without success, some remedy in political order for these deficiencies in a social condition, which, in conjunction with great public advantages, leaves weakly-established rights, ill-secured liberties, and individual existences equally languishing and unsettled. Academics offer, in the present day, and for the influence of intellectual order, the natural and almost the only remedy for this weighty defect in our general society. They assemble under a pacific flag, without imposing any yoke or factitious unity, illustrious men, who without this link would continue strangers to each other; and by mutual association they all obtain, with the enjoyments of liberal intercourse, means of influence and securities for independence. In the outer world they draw cultivated minds to studies and questions in which they can exercise and satisfy

themselves without running into extremes; they restrain them within certain limits of reason and convenience, while exciting their activity and supporting their freedom.

Prepossessed with these ideas, I endeavoured to apply them beyond the confines of Paris, and to obtain the co-operation of the learned societies in the provinces, for the sound regulation and progress of intellectual order. The number of these communities, the strong attachment borne to them by the greater portion of their members, the favour in which they are generally held in the elective councils of their departments and towns, prove that they are imbued with animated sentiments which seek only the opportunity of development. But the leading element of success is too often wanting in these liberal associations,—public sympathy and notoriety. Many of them languish for want of full light, and their most zealous members feel discouraged by being alternately deprived of the means of study they require, and of their just proportion of credit after labours accomplished. Some generous spirits,—amongst others, a learned French archæologist, and one of the most active correspondents of the Academy of Inscriptions and Polite Literature, M. de Caumont,—endeavoured, either by scientific congresses or by the formation of local societies, fictitiously united under the name of Provincial Institutes, a general although scattered community, to impart to all these bodies the motion and productive publicity in which they were deficient. I am unable to estimate correctly what was, or to predict what might have been, the success of these efforts; but, be

that as it may, it was my opinion, in 1834, that the central power was called upon to lend its hand to the work; and after having obtained precise information on the scientific associations of France, I addressed a circular letter to all, inviting them to establish, between the minister of Public Instruction and themselves a regular correspondence. "The societies," I said, "will make me acquainted with the particular nature of their present labours, and those they wish to undertake; with the resources they stand in need of in every class, whether books, instruments, or scientific information. I shall endeavour to supply them with all that they require to assist their free exertions, and shall cause to be published every year, under the auspices of the government, at first, a collection of some of the most important papers read in the principal literary communities of the kingdom, and subsequently a condensed general report of their labours, drawn up from their own individual statements or from the accounts transmitted to me; thus perpetuating a correct monument of the intellectual activity of the country,—at least, as far as it manifests itself through the organ of scientific associations."

To convince these societies that in addressing them I was not actuated by mere administrative curiosity, and that I attached a solid importance to my proposition, I added, to motives drawn from their own interest, another of general and superior importance. "At the moment," I said, "when popular instruction expands in every quarter, and when the effects of which it is the object ought to excite a great and animated movement amongst

the numerous classes devoted to manual labour, it is most essential that the classes in more easy circumstances, who employ themselves in intellectual occupations, should not subside into indifference or apathy. In proportion as elementary instruction becomes general and active, it is indispensable that in the superior branches of study the labours of exalted science should advance in a similar ratio. If the progress of intelligence went on increasing with the masses, whilst sloth prevailed amongst the higher orders of society, sooner or later a dangerous perturbation would ensue. I consider it, therefore, a duty imposed on the government, for the interest of society at large, to impart, as far as in it lies, a powerful impulse to elevated study and pure science, as much as to practical and popular instruction." Finally, to dissipate beforehand, in the literary associations of the departments, the mistrust I anticipated, I concluded thus :—"There is no question here of any centralization of business or power. I have no intention of infringing on the liberty or individuality of the learned societies, or of imposing on them any general organization or ruling idea. The matter at issue is simply to transmit to them, from a common centre, the means of successful exertion which they could derive from no other quarter, and for them to return to the same source the fruits of their activity to be disseminated in a more extensive sphere. Far from abstracting any portion of their local independence or importance from the learned societies, this measure is calculated, on the contrary, to secure and augment both, by giving increased efficacy and scope to their efforts."

This circular, despatched to seventy-five learned associations scattered over the kingdom, excited a certain degree of stir and expectation. Several of them commenced an animated correspondence with my department. I forwarded to them books, national and foreign documents, scientific information, and small sums of money to assist them in their researches and local publications. One of my successors in the ministry of Public Instruction, M. de Salvandy, resumed in 1837 and in 1846, with the generous ardour he threw into all his undertakings, the work thus commenced; he asked and obtained from the Chambers a special section in his budget, devoted to the learned associations, and endowed with fifty thousand francs. This sum he divided amongst sixty of the number,—a mode of support I am far from considering as generally futile, but which in this particular case I cannot look upon as the most necessary or efficacious. Encouragement ought to be bestowed on the persons and their works: intellectual consideration rather than pecuniary aid is of leading importance to learned bodies. What they pre-eminently desire is to find themselves recognised and appreciated in the literary world. I proposed to employ, in my department, one or two distinguished men in an assiduous systematic correspondence with these societies, and to prepare, in concert with them, the publications of which they were to be the object. This kind of encouragement, I venture to think, would have been more agreeable and serviceable to them than a small share of a limited allocation.

I should say nothing in respect to some measures

of little importance which I introduced in the various scientific and literary establishments, libraries, museums, and collections dependent on my ministry, if my ideas on these points had not been, and did not still continue materially different from those which obtain credit in the present day. I am therefore anxious to state with precision what my intentions and conduct were towards these several communities.

I am a steady partizan of monarchy and administrative government. France owes to both much of her prosperity and progress. I feel sincerely grateful to the Emperor Napoleon I. for having said to M. de Fontanes, "Leave us at least the republic of letters;" and I adopt these words more seriously than perhaps Napoleon himself meant when he uttered them. The system of administrative monarchy, its intractable unity, its monotonous bearing from head to foot, its frigid prepossession for things rather than persons, its severity against disorder, and its want of sympathy with liberty,—all these characteristics are unsuited to the region in which the literary and scientific character holds rule. Such establishments require a large share of independence and spontaneous action, of variety and personal government. Not to gratify vain or fantastic whims, but from the very nature of the men with whom we treat, and the matters specially treated of in such cases. General and superior administration requires rules and agents; above all things, it fears and rejects individual caprices, unforeseen acts, anomalies, and abuses. It is ill suited to the management of scholars and philosophers, men accustomed and disposed to invent, to criti-

cise, to determine their own ideas and labours, and with whom it is necessary to converse and argue incessantly, instead of simply sending them a copy of instructions or a formal circular. Shall government place over them an agent analogous to itself, a petty administrative sovereign? In that case, the scholars and philosophers thus controlled, take offence, the government incurs their secret opposition and ill-humour; they resign, and nullify themselves, leaving the affairs of letters and science to be transacted by mere strangers to their necessities, their tastes, their desires, their pleasures, their studies, and their books; who may perhaps introduce order into literary establishments, while they utterly destroy their vitality. Then follows a general feeling of astonishment that letters languish and scholars become disaffected!

Let me cite an example of the errors into which authority falls, and the mischief it does, when it applies ideas purely administrative to literary and scientific establishments. In doing this, I shall select one of the instances most favourable to government, a case in which plausible motives appear to justify the measures adopted. For a long time, and under the parliamentary system, as at present, the apartments assigned in the scientific establishments to the keepers, professors, and different officers who exercise their functions on the spot, have been condemned as abuses. Their dwelling-houses have been alternately pronounced too numerous, too spacious, or too magnificent. I have already inserted the stinging answer of an illustrious scholar to these repeated complaints. To put an end to abuse, this

practice has recently been abolished in the Imperial Library; it has been decided that no keeper or officer should any longer live within the walls, and an indemnity has been granted to those who were in consequence expelled. This was intended and believed to be an act of judicious legislation; but it evinces a profound misunderstanding of the nature and moral power of scientific establishments, whilst it strikes a heavy blow against scholastic life and habits. A public library, a museum of natural history, the conservatories of great collections, are in the eyes of the men intrusted with their charge, with the care of enriching them, and of giving lectures on their contents, very different places from the mere buildings in which they perform their duties. They become the home of their souls; a country in which they live surrounded by the instruments of their labour and the pleasures of their thought. I might call them laical convents devoted to science, in which men freely enclose themselves, to whom science is their all in all, constituting alike their employment and recreation. They do much more than receive the public there, and reply to their questions; they themselves work the mine of wealth they watch over; the libraries and museums in which they live are their personal laboratories. It is by means of this continued cohabitation, this material intimacy, if I may so express myself, with the monuments and repositories of science, that the chief portion of the great works emanating from thence have been prepared and completed by the resident officers of the scientific establishments. Is it to be expected that the same sentiments will develop

themselves, the same ties be preserved, and the same results obtained,' when these establishments become deserted buildings, except on certain days, and at particular hours, when the keepers and professors repair thither with the public to discharge a task, and retire as soon as it is concluded, to seek within their own homes those studious and domestic enjoyments no longer associated in their minds with the halls and buildings in which they have ceased to reside? The city and the family of literature have been broken up. Scattered functionaries, even though they were the most learned and punctilious in the world, can never replace them.

We are too often inclined to suffer ourselves to be exclusively prepossessed with certain faults and evils which strike the mind and ruffle the temper, and to forget or sacrifice in the desire for their abolition the valuable advantages with which they are combined. I am no advocate for abuses; but I would rather nourish two or three parasitical plants around the tree than weaken or cut down the tree itself. I believe, moreover, that by a few persevering measures of inspection and publicity, it would be easy to anticipate or reform the greater part of the complaints raised against the administration of scientific establishments, without depriving them of their essential character. Be this as it may, when, in November, 1832, I was called upon by the demands and committees of the Chambers themselves, to apply certain modifications to the system of the Royal Library, I took the greatest care that they should in no way affect the ancient independence, or what I may

call the literary autonomy of that establishment. I left the interior government to the assembly of its conservators; I merely imposed on them the obligation of recommending, of their own accord, and chosen from amongst themselves, by the presentation of three candidates, a president of the conservatory, who would act, within, as the executive power, and would constitute, without, their representative with the general administration. I thus introduced into the establishment a principle of unity and responsibility, without interfering with the dignity of its learned heads, or depriving them of their natural privileges. I even strengthened the position of the superior and inferior officers of the library, by giving them, through their own nomination and advancement, important securities against the spontaneous and arbitrary action of the central power.

The government of the Museum of Natural History might have been susceptible of some analogous reforms; but they were less loudly called for by the public, and the heads of the establishment, all professors of reputation, appeared to look upon them with greater dread. I therefore left untouched their old organization, under which science and teaching had made satisfactory progress, and to which it had imparted so much brilliancy.

I effected for these two societies a measure of more importance to the prosperity of literature and science, than the suppression of a few houses, and a trifling number of administrative irregularities, by asking and obtaining from the Chambers a considerable increase to their dotation. From 1833 to 1837, the ordinary budget of the Museum of Natural History was carried from 337,000 to 434,000 francs; and that of the

Royal Library, from 205,000 to 274,000; an augmentation of one-third, principally applied to placing in good order and enriching the matériel of both establishments. In virtue of the law for extraordinary public works, proposed by M. Thiers on the 29th of April, 1833, and promulgated on the 27th of June following, a sum of 2,400,000 francs was appropriated to the extension of the grounds belonging to the Museum of Natural History, and to the erection of a mineralogical gallery and numerous greenhouses, long desired to assist the labours of the professors, and to gratify the curiosity of the public. King Louis-Philippe laid the first stone of the mineralogical gallery on the 29th of July, 1833, on the occasion of which ceremony I accompanied him. The crowd was enormous, including all the learned members of the Museum, the habitual visitors, the students, and the national guard of the quarter. In the name of that public, I thanked the King for the additional means he thus placed at the disposal of science, of employing its riches to their full advantage. "It is your destiny, sire," I said to him, "as it will also be your glory, in trifling as in great affairs, to accomplish what has been projected, to terminate what has been begun, to reach the end universally desired, to satisfy the moderate necessities of science, as well as the all-powerful interests of society." In these words I expressed the sentiments of all who then listened to them. The sincerest hopes are presumptuous; but men would feel their hearts freeze within them, and would sink into apathy, could they but divine the uncertainty of their works, and if the future ceased to be concealed from their view.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORICAL STUDIES.

MORAL AND POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES.—STATE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN PUBLIC INSTRUCTION BEFORE 1818.—INTRODUCTION OF THE SPECIAL TEACHING OF HISTORY IN THE COLLEGES.—THE CHARACTER AND LIMITS OF THAT TEACHING.—STATE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES AFTER THE REVOLUTION OF 1830.—LETTER FROM M. AUGUSTINE THIERRY ON THIS SUBJECT.—FOUNDATION OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.—I PROPOSE THE PUBLICATION, BY THE MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, OF A LARGE COLLECTION OF INEDITED DOCUMENTS RELATIVE TO THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.—DEBATE IN THE CHAMBERS ON THIS QUESTION.—MY REPORT TO KING LOUIS-PHILIPPE.—LETTER FROM THE KING.—M. MICHELET AND M. EDGAR QUINET.—OF THE ACTUAL CONDITION OF STUDIES ON THE GENERAL AND LOCAL HISTORY OF FRANCE, AND OF THE INFLUENCE OF THESE STUDIES.

Our tastes easily become manias, and an idea which has long and powerfully possessed us, assumes an importance in our estimation to which vanity often lends too much faith. Nevertheless, the more I reflect, the more I feel convinced that I have not exaggerated to myself the interest which a nation ought to take in its own history; nor the advantage it gains in political intelligence as well as in moral dignity, by completely understanding and attaching itself to this subject. In the long course of successive generations, denominated a people, how rapidly each passes away! And in that short passage how narrowly is the horizon bounded!

How insignificant is the place we occupy, and how little do we see with our own eyes! We require to magnify our thoughts, that we may be able to take a serious view of life. Religion opens the future and places us in presence of eternity. History brings back the past and adds to our own existence the lives of our fathers. When we turn to them, our perceptions rise and extend. When we thoroughly know them, we acquire a better knowledge and comprehension of ourselves. Our own destiny, our present situation, the circumstances which surround and the necessities which press upon us, become more clear and natural in our eyes. We not only gratify science and imagination, by thus associating ourselves with the events and persons that have preceded us on the same soil and under the same heaven, but we take from the ideas and passions of the day much of their narrow sourness. Amongst a people interested and well instructed in their own history, we are almost sure of finding a more wholesome and equitable judgment on their present affairs, the conditions of their progress, and their chances for the future.

The same idea and hope by which I had been governed and animated in my course of lectures at the Sorbonne, on the development of French civilization, followed me to the ministry of Public Instruction, and regulated my efforts to revive and expand the taste for, and study of our national history. From this source, assuredly, I looked for no rapid or widely-spreading effect, either as to the abatement of political passions or the correction of popular prejudices. I knew too well already how deeply they are rooted, and that powerful

and repeated blows from the hand of God himself are necessary to extirpate them. But I expected that in Paris, in the first instance, in the centre of studies and ideas, and subsequently in various parts of France, a certain number of intelligent spirits would acquire more correct and impartial notions of the different elements of what French society is composed, of their mutual relations and rights, and of the value of their historical traditions in the new social combinations of our own days. I was not disheartened by the inevitable slowness of this intellectual progress, nor by the still more tardy effect of its public influence. There is pride in the pretension of reforming the errors of our time; those who indulge in it must be content with even a glimpse of success. They preach patience to nations in the pursuit of their desires; let them learn to practise patience themselves in their own labours and hopes.

Before 1830, I had obtained, not only with the public and by my lectures, but in the general system of public instruction, some important results in respect to the study of history. This study was not even named in the law which, under the Consulate, in 1802, had re-established secondary education. "In the lyceums will be taught," says the tenth article, "the classical languages, rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy, and the elements of mathematical and physical science." A step was made in the statute, by which the council of the University, in 1814, regulated the discipline and course of study in the colleges; instruction in history and geography was then introduced, but in a very accessory form. The professors of the old lan-

guages were ordered to undertake these branches in addition to their literary teaching. During the summer months, from the 1st of April to the vacations, half an hour was added to the evening classes; "and this half-hour," says Article 129, "will be exclusively devoted to geography and history." It was not until 1818 that a decisive and effectual measure came into operation. M. Royer-Collard and M. Cuvier, with whom I had often considered the subject, carried a resolution to the following effect:—

"COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

"Seeing the present arrangement in the colleges, which assigns to the professors during the summer months an additional half-hour at the termination of every evening class, for giving instruction in history and geography;

"And considering that the intent of this regulation has not been generally carried out to the present time, and also that it is desirable to give to this department of classical study the full development required by the state of society and the wishes of families;

"IT IS DECREED AS FOLLOWS:—

"Instructions in history and geography in such royal and departmental colleges as will be pointed out by the committee will henceforward be intrusted to a professor or substitute specially appointed."

The result responded to the expectation. Special professors of history were named, with suitable appointments; instruction in the different historical epochs

was distributed through the successive classes; history and geography assumed their due share in the honours of general competition and their place in the schools of the state.

A little later, in 1820, the committee of Public Instruction, when communicating to the professors the new plan of teaching, determined very judiciously its scope and character. "The professor," it said, "will form an erroneous idea of the advantages expected from his zeal, if he believes himself called upon to enter into the development and discussion of high criticism which belong to more exalted instruction. This is not to be considered a faculty class. The professor can only expect to become useful to his pupils by measuring their standard. The class must be formed for them, and not for himself. His object being to impress on their memories the leading facts of history, the knowledge of which is laboriously and imperfectly acquired at a more advanced age, he must not seek other sources of interest than the simple exposition of historical events, and the natural connection subsisting between them. Above all, he must avoid every allusion that might lead his pupils into the field of politics, and supply food for party discussion."

Notwithstanding this reserve, when influence, in the first place, and power afterwards, passed into the hands of M. de Villéle, or rather of his party, historical teaching became suspected; and in the measures of the day,—particularly in the new statute drawn up in September, 1821, for the government of the colleges,—a concealed effort was perceptible, if not to abolish this department

altogether, at least to reduce and cast it into the shade.

But the effort was visibly embarrassed and timid. At that epoch it was the fault and misfortune of the parties in conflict, whether friends or enemies of the Restoration, to fear each other too much, and mutually to overrate their power. Their reciprocal apprehensions far exceeded their actual dangers, and they threatened more than they struck. In spite of the proclaimed suspicions and hostile acts of what was called the Association against the University and its progress, when the Restoration fell, not only did the University remain unshaken, but in its bosom, and in the different gradations of public instruction, in the colleges as in the faculties, historical teaching was established.

The system of 1830 banished all uneasiness as to the security of this teaching in the colleges, but injured it in the higher departments. Several of its ablest exponents dedicated themselves entirely to political life, and historical labours soon suffered from the effects of the disorganization of minds. M. Augustine Thierry, at that time ill and almost blind, and living near his brother Amédée, then Prefect of the Upper Saône, wrote thus to me from Luxeuil on the 3rd of September, 1833:—

"Do you believe, my dear friend, that my presence in Paris would be of any service to historical studies? Our school is dissolved by your general pension; nothing remains of it but a few fragments, which are disappearing from day to day. I could collect them together and make myself a centre; and, in truth, the matter is pressing. See what light and unsteady teach-

ing has already become popular. What is published in books is even more extraordinary. Under the name of history people compose dithyrambics and poetry. You have established a conservator of historical monuments. Create also a preserver of style and method in history; without which, before four years have expired, no trace will remain of what has cost us all, and you in particular, so much anxiety and labour. I will devote to this work the remnant of my life. Place me in a position to live in Paris; let your justice decide on the rights I have acquired by what I have done and lost for science, and Providence will accomplish the rest."

I was more impatient than any one else to open new sources of wholesome strength and prosperity to the studies to which I was so warmly attached, and which I saw seriously endangered. Public feeling came to my assistance. If superior instruction in history had suffered a considerable check, the taste for historical researches and reflections was evidently extending, and afforded intellectual gratification, with the chance of literary fame, local or general, to many active minds who were neither attracted nor encouraged by political life. Several of my friends communicated to me their project for founding, under the title of *Society of the History of France*, an association specially devoted to the publication of original documents relative to our national history, and with a view to disseminate, either by correspondence regularly carried on, or by a monthly *Bulletin*, a general knowledge of the scattered and neglected labours of which it was the object. I hastened to give this plan my assent and co-operation. We met

together on the 27th of June, 1833, to the number of twenty institutors; we arranged the bases of the association, and a little more than six months later, on the 23rd of January, 1834, the *Society of the History of France*, reckoning already one hundred members, formed itself into a general assembly, adopted definitive regulations, appointed a council to superintend its labours, and took the field in full activity. What it has since accomplished during twenty-five years is well known. It has printed seventy-one volumes of memoirs and unpublished documents, nearly all of the highest interest to our history, and some containing authentic discoveries, equally curious and important for the amateur and the professional scholar. It has expended on these publications 360,000 francs (£14,440). It has excited throughout the country, and in a multitude of small towns entirely without scientific establishments, an inquisitive investigation of their own local annals, with all their reminiscences and documents. At present it enumerates 452 members; and this number continually increasing, the importance of its publications, the extent of its correspondence, and the regularity and interest of its monthly *Bulletin*, all tend to secure a long and productive future.

But even at the moment of its establishment, and from my interviews with its most zealous founders, I felt convinced that it would fall far short of its imposed task, and that the government alone possessed the literary and financial resources indispensable to such a work. I resolved to undertake it, as minister of Public Instruction, and to give it, from the beginning,

the extent and brilliancy which would alone incline the Chambers to the large contributions I should be compelled to ask from them. In intellectual as in political arrangements, it is by great expectations and demands that human sympathy and activity are stirred up to energetic efforts. I had several ends to attain. I wished to seek out, collect together, and place in security, throughout all France, the monuments of our history which had not perished in the revolutionary spoliations and destructions. I was anxious to select, in the local archives thus restored, and in those of the state, whether diplomatic or military, every important document of national history, and to publish them in succession, without wounding any public interest or convenience, and also without puerile timidity. To execute such a labour worthily, required the association of men eminent in historical study, to decide, either in committee with the minister of Public Instruction, on the importance and merit of the documents, or individually to superintend their publication. It was also essential, that throughout the entire country, the local scholars and archæologists should enter into correspondence with the minister and his council, to point out to them the concealed treasures, and to assist in their exhumation. Under these conditions alone could the work respond to the idea, and produce a collection of hitherto unpublished documents calculated to throw living light, not on a single period or province, but on the entire series of ages and multiplied theatres of the long and energetic life of France.

In the financial budget presented to the Chamber of

Deputies on the 10th of January, 1834, I demanded a special allocation of 120,000 francs, to commence this undertaking. Opposition was raised against such a novel and *heavy* expenditure. The committee specially charged with the examination of the budget of my department proposed to reduce it to 50,000 francs. The general committee of the budget called upon the Chamber to reject it altogether. I supported my proposal. The debate was animated and embroiled. I found supporters amongst my adversaries, and adversaries amongst my friends. M. Garnier-Pagès accused me of endeavouring to draw away from the journals, the young writers who maintained *principles*, to attract and engage them in studies unconnected with politics. In reply, M. Mauguin congratulated himself and me on the publicity I proposed to give to political archives and correspondence; an excellent school, he said, in which to form the politicians of whom France stood in need, and added: "When you have only created a few of these, you will be indemnified a hundred-fold for your expenses." M. de Sade and M. Pagès de l'Ariège, M. Pelet de la Lozère, and M. Gillon, adduced more serious arguments for and against my demand; the passion of economy and the love of science were mutually opposed. The Chamber placed confidence in me on such questions as these, and received with favour measures of a liberal character not interfering with the policy of order and resistance. I gained my cause. As soon as the budget was voted, I presented a report to the King, in which I explained, in detail, the motives and hopes, the plan and executive means of the undertak-

ing.[1] On returning it, he wrote as follows: "My dear minister; I have read with much interest the report you have transmitted to me this morning. You will find it enclosed and confirmed by my approbation. You have undertaken a great and useful work. The thought was worthy of you, and its execution could not be intrusted to hands more capable of assuring success. I find in this a new reason for being thankful that I have such a minister." Thus supported by the great public authorities, I immediately applied myself to the task.

The goodwill and effective activity with which I was met by all the friends of historical study, soon became certain guarantees of a happy result. Messrs. Augustin Thierry, Mignet, Fauriel, Guérard, Cousin, Auguste Le Prévost, and General Pelet, anxiously hastened, not only to associate themselves with the labours of the central committee instituted in my ministry, but to superintend themselves the first important publications destined to inaugurate the collection. The number and zeal of our distinguished correspondents in the provinces rapidly increased. Eighty-nine were enrolled by December, 1834, when I sent them my report to the King, and general instructions as to the labours in prospect. Five months later, in May, 1835, either by voluntary offers or new nominations, the number reached one hundred and fifty-three. It thus became evident that a national and scientific sentiment was excited and satisfied.

I find amongst the papers I have preserved connected with that epoch, two names which I cannot

[1] See Historic Documents, No. IX.

read without an impression of sad and affectionate regret: a report from M. Michelet, on the libraries and archives of the south-west of France, which I had commissioned him to visit, and a letter from M. Edgar Quinet, who offered me his assistance in the search for and publication of inedited documents. With both, I had entered into important and friendly communications. M. Quinet's translation of the great work of Herder, on the history of humanity, and the remarkable *Introduction* with which he accompanied it, had inspired me with a lively interest for him. By my own selection, M. Michelet officiated for a time as substitute in my chair at the Sorbonne, and upon my recommendation was called to the Tuileries to give lessons in history, at first to her Royal Highness, Mademoiselle, now Duchess of Parma, and subsequently to the young princesses, daughters of King Louis-Philippe. The report, which I find from him, dated in 1835, is simple and clear, a purely archæological journey without pretension or fantasy. M. Quinet's letter, written on the 18th of May, 1834, runs thus: "If you thought that the publication of some epic fragments of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries might, with propriety, be comprised in your collection, I would most readily apply myself to this work. I should be equally at your disposal if it entered into your plan to explore the libraries of Germany, Italy, and Spain, and this occupation I should prefer above all others. In any case, I should be happy to receive your instructions on the subjects which constitute my daily studies, and to be enabled thus to profit more directly from

your information." Here are two more rare and generous spirits, afterwards seduced and attracted by the evil genius of their time into its impure chaos, and who outweigh, in personal value, their ideas and success.

I have nothing to say in regard to the collection itself thus commenced under my supervisorship. In the midst of the troubles of the day and in spite of the fall of kings, republics, and ministers, this work has advanced and developed itself, as rapidly as could have been looked for in tranquil times. The collection at present reaches 114 volumes, and amongst them are included several of the most important, and until then the least-known monuments of the past history of France. Experienced masters, and their most eminent disciples in historical study, continue to bestow their care on these publications. The ministry of Public Instruction has, at present, three hundred correspondents in the departments, collected round this centre of national research. Nothing is wanting to enable the public to appreciate fully the work, its original idea, and progressive execution. Let me be permitted to record a single fact which touches myself. When, in the month of February, 1836, the Cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, was dissolved, and I quitted the ministry of Public Instruction, my successor in that department, Count Pelet de la Lozère, ordered a report to be delivered to him of the historical labours accomplished, commenced, or ordered, in compliance with my instructions. This report, dated the 23rd of March, 1836, records minutely the impulse given

and the progress already imparted, to the path I had opened. I venture to insert it amongst the "Historic Documents" appended to these "Memoirs."[1]

I have mentioned the political expectation, real and animated, though distant, which, in my opinion, from the first moment, united itself with the scientific value of these labours. This hope has never abandoned me. Even in the present day, so near the period of our social convulsions as yet imperfectly restrained, if an impartial and enlightened observer were to traverse France, he would find in every quarter, in all our towns, great or small, and even in the remote country districts, unpretending, well-instructed, and hard-working men, devoted with a feeling of enthusiasm to the study of the general or local history of their country. If he entered into conversation with them, he would be struck by the justness of their sentiments and the freedom of their minds on the old as well as on the new state of French society; and he would find it difficult to believe that so many sound ideas, expanded over the entire land, can always remain without influence on the dispositions and destinies of the people.

[1] See Historic Documents, No. X.

CHAPTER VII.

INTERNAL POLICY.

TRUE CHARACTER OF THE POLICY OF RESISTANCE FROM 1830 TO 1836.—STATE OF PARTIES IN THE CHAMBERS IN 1832.—NOMINATION OF PEERS.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRD PARTY IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—M. DUPIN PRESIDENT.—DISMISSAL OF MESSRS. DUBOIS DE NANTES AND BAUDE.—DEBATE ON THIS SUBJECT.—SESSIONS OF 1832 AND 1833.—GOOD ATTITUDE OF THE CABINET.—SECRET SOCIETIES OF THIS PERIOD.—OF THE SUPPORT THEY FOUND IN THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—OF THE JOURNALS.—WHAT COURSE AUTHORITY SHOULD HOLD WITH REGARD TO THE LIBERTY OF THE PERIODICAL PRESS.—WHEREIN LAY OUR ERROR IN THIS RESPECT.—PROSECUTION OF THE 'TRIBUNE' BEFORE THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—USELESS CONCESSIONS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT.—SESSION OF 1834.—DEBATE BETWEEN M. DUPIN AND MYSELF, *BECAUSE* AND *ALTHOUGH* A BOURBON.—EXPLOSION OF REPUBLICAN AND ANARCHICAL ATTACKS.—LAW AGAINST PUBLIC CRIERS.—LAW AGAINST ASSOCIATIONS.—TREATY OF THE TWENTY-FIVE MILLIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.—CHECK AND RETIREMENT OF THE DUKE DE BROGLIE.—WHY I REMAIN IN THE CABINET.—ITS RECONSTITUTION.—INSURRECTIONS OF APRIL 1834, AT LYONS, AND ON SEVERAL OTHER POINTS—AT PARIS—THEIR DEFEAT.—PROSECUTION REFERRED TO THE COURT OF PEERS.—DISSOLUTION OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—THE ELECTIONS FAVOURABLE TO US.—PERIL OF THE SITUATION.—ATTITUDE OF THE THIRD PARTY.—INTERNAL EMBARRASSMENTS OF THE CABINET.—QUESTION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF ALGERIA.—MARSHAL SOULT.—HIS RETIREMENT.—MARSHAL GÉRARD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.—OPENING OF THE SESSION OF 1835.—ADDRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES.—QUESTION OF THE AMNESTY.—MARSHAL GÉRARD RETIRES.—DISMISSAL OF MESSRS. DUCHÂTEL, HUMANN, RIGNY, THIERS, AND MYSELF.—MINISTRY OF THE THREE DAYS.—ITS SUDDEN DISSOLUTION.—WE RETURN TO POWER WITH MARSHAL MORTIER AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL.—M. DE TALLEYRAND RETIRES FROM

THE EMBASSY IN LONDON.—DEATH AND FUNERAL OF M. DE LA FAYETTE.—MY MISUNDERSTANDING WITH M. ROYER-COLLARD.—WEAKNESS AND RESIGNATION OF THE CABINET.—MINISTERIAL CRISIS.—THE KING AND THE DUKE DE BROGLIE.—M. THIERS.—THE DUKE DE BROGLIE RESUMES OFFICE AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL AND MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—LABOURS OF THE RECONSTRUCTED CABINET.—TRIAL OF THE ACCUSED OF APRIL BEFORE THE COURT OF PEERS.—RETURN OF ANARCHY.—THE FIESCHI ASSASSINATION.—LAWS OF SEPTEMBER.—STRONG POSITION OF THE CABINET.—UNEXPECTED INCIDENT.—M. HUMANN AND THE CONVERSION OF THE FUNDS.—CHECK AND DISSOLUTION OF THE CABINET OF THE 11TH OF OCTOBER, 1832.

(*From* 1832 *to* 1836.)

MANY persons will think that on quitting the calm regions dedicated to the progress of public intelligence, to re-enter the tumultuous arena of state politics, I experienced a feeling of painful and fatiguing contrast. It was not so. I have said with what object and under what idea the cabinet was formed: we were all sincerely anxious to establish in France a legal and liberal government; we considered the work beautiful in itself, glorious for ourselves, and salutary for our country; we prosecuted it with ardour and confidence, whatever might be the difficulties and dangers. The policy of resistance, at that epoch, has often been denounced as negative and sterile, without expanded views or greatness. I cannot imagine an accusation less rational, or one which more completely reveals to what extent even enlightened minds can be misled and reduced by revolutionary spectacles and practices. The policy of resistance, after 1830, attempted precisely the greatest, the most difficult, and the newest work which a government could ever hope to accomplish; for in struggling against disorder it undertook to

conquer by the laws alone, and by laws enacted and applied in presence of liberty. What could be greater than the reign of law, of one general, permanent, and acknowledged rule, in place of the personal, variable, and incalculable caprices of any one man or set of men? It is the noblest effort human society can make to assimilate political order to the divine order which governs the world. And what could be more difficult or novel in a country given over for twenty-five years to revolutions or despotism, and on the day following a fresh revolution, under which the first serious attempt of representative monarchy had failed and yielded? In our days, the legal political system rests on two conditions: the first is, that before being established, the law must be freely discussed by the great powers of the state, under the public eye, and by the public itself; the second, that a law, once established, must be scrupulously respected by the people and the ruling powers, whatever may be the obstacles attached to that respect. Let the origin and form of any particular authority, the extent and guarantees of any specific privilege, be argued and reviewed without limit; wherever these two conditions, the free preliminary discussion and faithful observance of the law, are really fulfilled, society may resume its confidence; it is treading in the paths of true liberty and true greatness.

King Louis XVIII, in founding constitutional monarchy, brought France back to these paths. Charles X. tore her forcibly from them. Carried to the throne by violence, King Louis-Philippe immediately restored and instructed her to march in them. He had no

strong faith in the full development of the constitutional system in France; but he was profoundly convinced of its necessity, and resolved to co-operate zealously in the task. He entertained, moreover, a sincere respect for the general rights of the nation, for the equal administration of justice, and for the oath he had taken when accepting the crown. The law appeared to him the safest buckler for the throne, as well as for the citizens. He made the legal system the basis of his internal policy, and never suggested to his advisers to depart from it; he would have called them back to it himself, had occasion required, and ever yielded to the observation, "it is the law," no matter how disagreeable or embarrassing he may have found the conclusion. In this particular his government was exposed to severe trials, which he encountered with unswerving courage.

The policy of resistance did more than punctiliously respect the legal system. It never demanded from it all the arms it might have bestowed. I am not now speaking of those revolutionary times when, under the empire of a single assembly, the name of the law has served as a passport and veil to tyranny. Even under the constitutional system, and at a period of liberty, the power of the law has often exercised itself beyond the limits of common and habitual right. In England, at various epochs, in France before 1830, the Chambers have often passed exceptional and preventive laws violently opposed, and granted only for a short time, but which invested the government with extraordinary powers, and elevated its strength to the level of danger.

Under the monarchy of 1830, the policy of resistance never demanded or received such powers; assuredly, there was no want of enemies or dangers, but acts of prevention or exception were not desired. That policy resisted and governed by general, permanent, and repressive enactments; in the midst of the greatest perils, it appealed to nothing beyond the ordinary laws.

That policy, nevertheless, found itself in a singular situation, and one perhaps unexampled in history. Nearly all the states of Europe, even free countries, such as England and Holland, have an old penal legislation, instituted in rude ages, and which, though softened or partly abandoned, still leaves at the disposition of authority very energetic means of police and repression. Whoever has closely observed the practice of criminal administration in England,—above all, the action of the judges and municipal authorities,—can entertain no doubt of the repressive efficacy of the prescriptions and traditions of these ancient laws. Nothing similar exists in France since 1789; the old penal code has been entirely abolished. Its place was supplied, at first by revolutionary violence, and afterwards by arbitrary power. Although reconstructed in a spirit of order, and sometimes even of severity, if the penal legislation of the Empire had been enacted in the presence of liberty, and for the service of an authority constrained to restrict itself closely within legal practice, it would assuredly have been found imperfect and insufficient; but it was exposed to no such trial, and found in the unfettered arbitrator of power the means

of filling up the gaps in the law. The constitutional monarchy, from 1814 to 1830, was the first government which had really to bear the weight of these deficiencies; it sought a remedy in new acts, and more frequently by recurring to preventive and temporary measures, previously discussed in the Chambers, and applied by responsible counsellors. The monarchy of 1830 had neither at its disposal revolutionary tyranny nor imperial despotism, and rejected exceptional laws. It found itself, therefore, after the animated impulse of its first steps, and when its enemies commenced an impassioned attack, more exposed and disarmed than any of its antecedents had ever been.

This is not all. While the newly-created power had to combat for the safety of order, and to establish itself while struggling, it was called on at the same time for the rapid development of public liberty, and to place in the hands of whoever chose to attack it new weapons, while the old arms were withheld from its own defence. The elective principle penetrated everywhere, in the administration as in the government, in the bosom of the armed force as in civil order, to the extremities as to the centre of the state. The liberty of the press, the jury, all independent and deliberative institutions extended their domain, and government saw the means of opposition and aggression increase from day to day, at the precise moment when its own resources for defence and action were on the decline.

Amongst the "Historic Documents" appended to these "Memoirs," I include a comparative table of the laws passed from 1830 to 1837; the one set for

resistance to disorder and the defence of power, the other for the extension and guarantee of liberty.[1] This simple parallel will explain more fully than words, the true character of the policy of resistance during that period; a policy essentially moderate and liberal, which innovated much more than it opposed, and while opposing remained far on this side of the necessity, instead of surpassing it. It is too often the error and misfortune of our country not to confine itself to an accurate appreciation of facts, to become intoxicated with words and appearances, and to yield to the tide that carries it away, even though that tide should bear it in a direction contrary to its desires. France, in 1830, neither believed that she had done, nor wished to do more than defend her honour and rights; but France, since 1789, had remained deeply imbued with the revolutionary spirit, sometimes compressed and transformed, but never extirpated nor truly subdued. At certain moments France considers herself cured of this frenzy; she condemns or forgets it, but the fatal influence remains. Subordinate factions, dreaming coteries, and secret societies are ever present and ready to revive its empire. As soon as some great event indicates light, the demon issues from the retreats where it lived concealed, but ever active; it advances under different names,—to-day, the republic, to-morrow, socialism, then communism, and finally and avowedly anarchy, its true and concluding standard. As long as France can delude herself and perceives not this sinister flag, she refuses to anticipate it; and in opposition to her dearest

[1] See Historic Documents, No. XI.

and noblest interests, in the face of her real and general desire, she takes pleasure in the movement which opens indefinite perspectives to her imagination, and rekindles in her memory half-extinguished flames.

It was upon this brink that our country was launched by the revolution of 1830, and from which the policy of resistance, without measuring or estimating the depth of the abyss, undertook to restrain her. Far from wishing to reduce the liberty, progress, or amelioration of the people, or to diminish anything that adorns and honours human society, that policy defended all these agencies, as well as general order, against their true and common enemy, the spirit of revolution,—a mortal, flattering, and lying foe.

We were all, in the cabinet, equally resolved to practise, in its double character of resistance and liberty, this line of policy; the only condition, as we believed, of honour and safety for the country and the government committed to our care. We mutually, without embarrassment, accepted the different shades of attitude and language, existing amongst us. Perfect unity would, assuredly, have been more desirable; but it argues great narrowness of mind to carry into public life the exigencies or susceptibilities of the domestic hearth, and not to know how to accommodate ourselves to the differences of opinion, or even discords, which need not prevent effective concurrence in the common end. We had no greater difficulty with the King than with ourselves. On all essential points he agreed with the cabinet, and treated us with confidence, devoid of jealousy. No one exercised the exclusive position or

rude temperament of M. Casimir Périer; nevertheless, we all felt satisfied with the effect and dignity of our share in the government, being assured that when we had well considered an advice or a resolution amongst ourselves, the King would accede to it, excepting only some one of those extreme occasions on which royalty and its ministers, in disagreement on a leading question, have equally a right and reason to separate. But no such instance was then in perspective, even in the horizon.

It was in the Chambers that our doubt and difficulty were to be apprehended. Should we find there all the support we required to render our policy effective, and give it, with Europe as with France, the appearance of an established future? I regret to be compelled to use words which historical reminiscences or prejudices have rendered suspicious to men of worth and sense, but I know not how to avoid them. To enable government under the representative system to acquire the regularity, force, dignity, and consistent spirit which belong to its most essential conditions, it is necessary that the great interests and principles, in presence and in contest, should be represented and sustained by men who have identified them as the cause and habit of their lives; or rather, to call things by their right names, we want parties,—great, avowed, disciplined, and faithful parties,—who, whether in power or in opposition, should exert themselves to establish the principles and interests they have adopted as their faith and their flag.

This is not, as it has been often called, a philosophical fancy, or an impression borrowed from the example of

England; it is a lesson taught by the history of all free countries, and the advice of sound political sense. One of the most independent and intellectual deputies of our time, M. Dugas-Montbel, the translator of Homer, was asked how it happened that he always voted with us: "You are then always of the opinion of ministers?" it was observed to him. "No," replied he, "I do not always do what I wish; but I invariably do what I *have* wished." I do not know a better definition, or a sounder justification of political parties under a representative system; they are a principle of order and stability, carried into the most disturbed and changeable regions of government.

We had no such parties amongst us in 1832; we could neither gather them from our historical traditions nor from the organization of our society. We were at the first step of the representative system, and had to establish it in the bosom of a democratic association. We were fully aware of these facts, and had no pretence for introducing into our assemblies, with all their requirements and habits, the organization of the old aristocratic parties. But we were in presence of two very opposite opinions as to the character the new government should adopt, and the line of conduct it should hold. The policy of resistance and the policy of concession, had each, from the first day, their adherents and adversaries. This was an active, national, and incontestable fact, which would naturally give rise, not to English tories and whigs, but to two parties of government and opposition, both extremely French, and exclusively modern, but very different in principles

and tendencies, whether in the exercise of, or in the presence of power. Such were the parties, which for the public and permanent interest, rather than for our popularity of a day, we anxiously sought to establish and consolidate.

At the very moment when the cabinet was formed, we adopted, in the Chamber of Peers, one of those measures which weigh heavily even where they are necessary. Since the double mutilation it had undergone, first by the Revolution of 1830, and afterwards by the abolition of hereditary rights, that Chamber had become languishing, and as it were depopulated. It no longer presented, as at the Restoration, an assembly of the most considerable and tried adherents of established power. We endeavoured to re-invest it with that character and authority. A creation of sixty new peers introduced into that house magistrates, general officers, members of the Institute, influential proprietors in their departments, great industrial leaders, old members of the Chamber of Deputies, and some important civil functionaries. All were men whose names recalled high social positions, or long services rendered to the state. A simple inspection of their names would prove that we had not sought, in selecting them, complaisant partizans, but honourable, solid, and useful supporters of the system we were about to found. There remained, certainly, the objection of these numerous and sudden promotions, thrown by the Crown into one of the great bodies of the state; but this was an inevitable condition of the too complete work of creation to which we were called.

Our difficulty with the Chamber of Deputies was entirely of another character. We had to cement and preserve there, for the policy of resistance, a majority, which under the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, and after the insurrection of the 5th and 6th of June, extreme peril had rallied together; but its elements were discordant and badly united. At the opening of the session of 1832, the breeze of danger was still blowing; the differences of opinion were concealed; the third party had not yet unfurled their flag; but it was there, already visible, and planting, within the ranks of the majority, the seeds of discontent and disunion. In my opinion, we were, alternately, towards this third party, unjust and too forbearing. It was a little camp, very mixed in itself; composed of honest irresolutes and timid intriguers; of judicious but hesitating minds, disposed to find wisdom in fluctuation; of vain and pretentious spirits, without boldness or power, but exacting and officious; of well-meaning but weak hearts; of susceptible and jealous self-lovers. Confined to a small number of persons, this dissolving leaven fermented in the bosom of the majority and disturbed their cohesion. The third party assumed to itself for representative and leader, one of the most important members of the Chamber, M. Dupin; in this they committed a mistake, for M. Dupin neither lent nor attached himself to any one, not more to those who agreed with than to others who differed from him; but without belonging to the third party, M. Dupin had with it some strong analogies, both in its good and evil elements; he even served and pleased them on occasions, although they

would have egregiously deceived themselves had they uniformly reckoned upon him.

We did not hesitate; we adopted M. Dupin as government candidate for the presidency of the Chamber, and bestowed on his friends, acknowledged or presumed, a considerable share in the honours of the bureau. In proportion as we were determined to carry on firmly the policy of resistance, we were equally desirous to manage the majority by which it had hitherto been sustained. We must remain blind to the divisions we do not wish to aggravate.

Our prudence on this point was speedily brought to trial. In the debate on the budget of 1833, a member of the opposition proposed, by way of amendment, "The general revision of all pensions granted between the 1st of April, 1814, and the 20th of July, 1830, and the erasure of all such as had been awarded for services not performed in the national armies, or for particular services to the princes of the elder branch of the Bourbons; finally, of those whose recipients did not combine all the conditions required by the existing laws." This amounted to a formal violation of Article 60 of the Charter, which expressed that, "The military in active employment, the officers and soldiers on half-pay, the widows, and the pensioned officers and soldiers, will preserve their ranks, honours, and pensions." It was, moreover, the financial resurrection, so to speak, of the civil war, of its enmities, revenges, and classifications amongst the citizens. Fundamental law and policy equally rejected this amendment. The cabinet opposed it with its utmost power. Two mem-

bers of the Chamber, invested with public functions and not habitually in the opposition, M. Dubois de Nantes, inspector-general of the University, and M. Baude, counsellor of state, seconded it warmly. After an animated discussion, the amendment was rejected; and at the moment when the President declared the vote, some members of the majority, elated at their victory, rose, while crying, "*Long live the Charter!*" At that shout, M. Dubois retorted with the exclamation, "*Long live the traitors! Long live the Chouans!*" which was immediately taken up by the opposition benches. The sitting terminated in the midst of an impassioned tumult.

The council met in the evening. The majority were now as much irritated as they had been firm. They called loudly on the government to support their supporters, and separate from their assailants. Resistance to the spirit of revolutionary reaction, already so difficult, they said, would become impossible if that spirit was tolerated in our own ranks. The dismissal of Messrs. Baude and Dubois was deliberated in the council. I had doubts as to the propriety of this measure. M. Dubois and M. Baude were men little consistent in their ideas, and independent in character even to fiery susceptibility, but strangers to all intrigue or intended manœuvre, neither pledged to the opposition nor to the third party, and who had spoken and voted on this occasion without political judgment, but with no premeditated or hostile design against the general policy of the cabinet. They had both, during the Restoration and the days of July, exhibited devotion and courage which called for esteem. The revocation of M. Dubois,

as inspector-general of studies, would open, moreover, a delicate question as to the point to which his rights as a member of the University followed him in his political capacity? Could he be dismissed without the forms prescribed by the constitutive decrees of the University? I submitted this consideration to the council; but there had been both scandal and clamour. The council persisted in thinking that the two dismissals were necessary. It remained for me to pronounce that which was likely to encounter the most animated objections. I declared myself ready to do the will of my colleagues, and to accept the responsibility. On returning home I wrote as follows to M. Dubois: "I do not wish, sir, that you should learn from the *Moniteur* that you have ceased to exercise the functions of Inspector-general of Public Instruction. It is with real regret that I feel compelled to remove you. I have undoubtedly no occasion to tell you the motives by which I am governed. You set much value, and with justice, on your personal dignity; you will understand, without difficulty, that the government has a similar feeling, and will take care to maintain it."

On the following day, as it was easy to foresee, the measure was violently attacked in the Chamber; with more violence than ability. Instead of confining the case to its equity and propriety, confused general questions and absolute pretensions were raised. A principle was laid down, that any deputy holding office, had a right to vote according to his opinion, and at the same time to preserve his post, without troubling himself to inquire whether his conscience and his

position were in accord; and without authorizing the government which he served and opposed at the same time, to refuse his services in order to put an end to the internal disorder of his attacks. In this, they said, consisted essentially the independence of the deputy in office; and if he was no longer permitted to attack, as deputy, without risk or sacrifice, the power he served as a functionary, that independence would cease to exist. Such reasoning rendered my defence easier than it ought to have been, for it destroyed at once the harmony of government, the responsibility of ministers, and the political probity of functionaries. I claimed these necessary principles of all regular and free legislation; I established that in public instruction, the rights of the administrative functions were not and could not be the same as those of the instructing duties; I distinguished general and habitual opposition from special and accidental discord; and upon the ground taken up by the adversaries of the cabinet, I reduced the debate to a question of good sense and loyalty, to a simple proposition as to whether one could be at the same time in the garrison of the fortress and in the army of the besiegers. Success was almost certain; I had with me constitutional maxims, the practical necessities of government, and the passions as well as the conviction of the majority. So far from compromising the cabinet, this incident, in which I still think we somewhat exceeded the measure of political interest and individual equity, sensibly strengthened us by giving satisfaction and confidence to our adherents.

In June, 1833, when the two sessions of 1832 and

1833, which followed each other with only twenty-four hours' interval, had reached their term, the position of the cabinet was good; it had succeeded beyond its own expectation and that of its friends. To the first successes which marked its entry on office, the close of the insurrection in the departments of the west, and the taking of Antwerp, were added important legislative triumphs. M. Humann, by preparing, presenting, and debating without intermission the two budgets of 1833 and 1834, had put an end to the necessity of provisional credits for the public expenses, a grievance incessantly complained of by men of order in financial matters. He had, moreover, regulated and secured this basis of public credit by a strong law upon the sinking fund. Marshal Soult and Admiral Rigny had introduced bills affecting the condition of officers in the military and naval services, which, without compromising the authority of the King over the army, afforded solid guarantees to private rights. On the proposition of Admiral Rigny, the exercise of civil and political privileges, with the legislative system in the colonies, had been liberally arranged; and while assigning to the colonists their due proportion of influence, these laws prognosticated the abolition of slavery. M. d'Argout had proposed, with reference to the organization and duties of departmental and municipal councils, and on expropriation in matters of public utility, several laws which honestly associated the control of the elective principle and that of the juries with the action of the central power, and gave effective securities to private interests. A comprehensive bill on the responsibility of minis-

ters and agents of power had been proposed by M. Barthe. M. Thiers had demanded, obtained, and immediately commenced a vast chain of public works. I had myself founded elementary education by introducing into it the principle of liberty. Of these fifteen legislative propositions, four out of which fulfilled the promises of Article 68 of the Charter, nine had been voted and were become legal enactments; the rest were ready for the ensuing session. Many other legislative labours and royal decrees had provided for the current business of the country. The activity of the cabinet in its relations with the Chambers had been constant and productive. It had honourably sustained conflict with its adversaries, and systematically won the adhesion of the majority. No important external disorder had troubled the public peace or interfered with the march of government.

Some bold spirits,—and amongst them a few private friends of my own,—pressed the cabinet to take advantage of this favourable state of affairs to dissolve the Chamber of Deputies, and thus to consecrate its success by a new parliament born under its influence, and promising a perspective of five years' duration. "Throughout my journey," M. de Rémusat wrote to me from Toulouse, "I have found the dissolution almost accepted and perfectly understood. In all quarters, I feel satisfied that it would succeed. The general state of things is quite as favourable as we believe it to be in Paris. I am quite astonished at the intelligence of the country. They see more clearly than I expected. They are really enjoying tranquillity and reviving prosperity. For

the moment, I answer for it, no pains need be taken to satisfy their imaginations and captivate their minds. Repose is a novelty which suffices for and will satisfy them until the session."

The cabinet had less confidence, and rejected this advice. After mature deliberation, it said in the *Moniteur*, "For some time the question of dissolving the Chamber of Deputies has been argued. Many persons have thought that such was the intention of government; these reports are void of all foundation. The government has no motive for abridging the legal duration of a Chamber which has lent such a loyal and effective co-operation to the monarchy and the charter of 1830."

I have often been reproached for occupying myself too exclusively with the parliamentary situation and arrangements of what has been called the legal country, and of treating too lightly the national condition and dispositions of the country at large. I shall say elsewhere what I think of this reproach, and of the causes which led me to fall into the imputed error,—if, in fact, I so committed myself. Be that as it may, we were far from such a mistake in 1833, and our solicitude in regard to the general state of the country was one of the principal motives which induced us to abandon the idea of a dissolution. Neither the majority assembled round us in the Chambers, nor the tranquillity re-established in the streets, deceived us as to the persevering obstinacy of the hostile parties, and the enduring perils they were preparing for us. After their defeat in the West and at Paris in 1832, the republicans and legitimists had, for a time at least, re-

nounced insurrection, which gave them the army to combat, and united against them the scattered fractions of the great party attached to the new system. But they found other arms, some more concealed, others more legitimate in appearance. By means of secret societies and the periodical press, they were able to mine the edifice, and maintain under its foundations a destructive furnace, while waiting a propitious day to rekindle the fire. It was to these two modes of attack that they had recourse in 1833, and they worked them with an audacity and perseverance which, in the midst of our parliamentary successes, allowed us neither confidence nor repose.

Amongst the many secret societies created or renewed since 1830, the leading one, that of the *Friends of the People*, had been dissolved in 1832 by a decree of the Court of Assize in Paris, but in a manner little discouraging, for the jury, while acknowledging its existence, declared the members not guilty, and the court at the same time interdicted their meetings and pronounced their acquittal. Its chiefs hastened to revive it under the already well-known name of the *Society of the Rights of Man*. They organized it into sections, each consisting of twenty members, and governed by a committee of eleven directors. The number of sections soon amounted, in Paris, to 162. The central committee had thus under its orders about 3,000 men,—a head of insurrection and column of attack, when the day for action should arrive. A multitude of other associations, the *Society of the Propaganda*; the *Society of the Rights of the People*; the *Patriotic and Popular*

Society; the *Union*, &c.; were in close relationship with the *Society of the Rights of Man*, the central committee of which was able to say, in what it called an *order of the day*, addressed to its faithful associates, "The committee announces to you that the *Society of the Rights of Man* may from this moment consider itself as a parent association of more than 300 others which rally, on all points of France, to the same principles and in the same direction." These principles were not equivocal, and the secret societies could not, at least, be taxed with hypocrisy. They proclaimed their intention of overthrowing not only the monarchy of 1830, but all monarchies whatsoever, and to found the Republic on their ruins: not an abstract and new form of republic, organized after the Utopias of philosophy or the examples of the United States of America, but the Republic, one and indivisible, born in 1792, and already known to France. The central committee, not wishing to leave any doubt on this point, published an exposition of its principles and the bases of the republican constitution it was preparing. "Inheritors of the mission which the genius of the National Convention had undertaken, desiring that society should be brought back to its true end, uniting at the same time to enfranchise and secure its progress, the Republicans are called upon, in the first instance, to seek out the guides which, while improving, will prevent it from wandering. It is in this spirit that, from its origin, the *Society of the Rights of Man* adopted, as the expression of its principles, the declaration presented to the National Convention by the representative of the people, Robespierre. The

central committee unites itself to that adoption." The central committee did not limit itself to the principles of 1793; it adopted with the same fervour the practical reminiscences, the proper names, ensigns, and images of that epoch; the sections of the society in Paris glorified themselves in appropriating them; and four chose the name of *Saint-Just*; others were called *Marat, Babœuf, Robespierre, Couthon*, the 21*st* of *January, War against the Castles, Abolition of ill-acquired Property*, &c., &c. In vain did these resurrections offend some members or patrons of the societies; in vain did the members endeavour to cast back such names into the past, and liberate the future republic from their contact. Their voices were lost in the tumult; their opposition was denounced as aristocratic pretension or Girondist dotage. It was sad to see an illustrious and magnanimous old man,—M. de La Fayette—and a young writer of lofty mind and character,—M. Armand Carrel,—embarrassed in disavowing timidly, and without success, the senseless or atrocious turpitudes which they should have trampled under foot with indignation and contempt.

Therein lay, if not the heaviest danger, at least the most aggravating circumstance of the perils against which we had to contend. However formidable might be the labours of the overthrowers of states through conspiracy and popular insurrection, if they met with no countenance in other social regions, and in the bosom of public authorities, they would have scanty chances of success. There must be hands extended from above to those that work below; aristocratic station must

come to the aid of democratic passion; the wise must lend their credit to the insane, while honest men cover evil designs with their fair reputation. This necessary support was not wanting to the inveterate republicans and anarchical conspirators who struggled to overthrow the monarchy of 1830. They had for permanent allies the partisans of legitimacy; and amongst the old liberal chiefs, some of the most considerate, become hostile to the new sovereignty which they accused of their own errors, lent their co-operation, more or less avowed, to its most determined enemies. Occasionally they engaged, under the name of *Society for the Defence of the Liberty of the Press, For the Relief of the Condemned*, or some similar designation, in public associations, distinct by their legal object from the secret societies; but which, in the end, by the fermentation they excited, and the relations they established with individuals, tended to the same result. At other times they protected, by their speeches and votes in the Chambers, the compromised conspirators. Other members of the opposition, strangers to all hostile practices, but thinking more of their popularity than of their parliamentary mission, conducted themselves on every opportunity with pusillanimous circumspection towards the most aggressive plotters. I once expressed some surprise to one of these, a banker of eminence, whose opinions I knew were very monarchical: "What do you require?" said he to me; "you and your colleagues will never do me any harm; but these gentry will one day be the masters, and they have friends who are very capable of seizing my property and cutting off my head: I have

no wish to embroil myself with them." Through all these avenues, the conspirators from without, the active enemies of established order, found in the high social regions, and even in the bosom of the great powers of the state, supporters who gave them confidence, and chances, which of themselves they could never have possessed.

They had allies in the journals even more ardent and effective. It is now a common-place axiom to regard the periodial press as the leading peril of governments, and I do not think there is much exaggeration in what has been said of the part it has taken more than once in their subversion. But I believe, at the same time, that great errors have been fallen into, and will again be repeated, on the conduct to be pursued in face of that power, and on the means of resisting its blows. I do not retract what I have already said; I persist in believing that if the liberty of the press comprises for free governments and nations the severest of their trials, it is at the same time, in modern society, a trial which cannot be shunned, and there is one only way of living honourably with such a companion: namely, to acknowledge it frankly, and to treat it with complaisance. To preserve this difficult position, just and highly necessary restrictive laws are insufficient: two conditions are yet wanting, too often forgotten or neglected, for they involve a question of conduct and character which no legislator has been competent to solve.

In the first place, it is essential that power, and the friends of power, should not themselves hesitate to use the liberty of the press; to use it habitually, ener-

getically; to sustain the contest like champions in an arena, and not like criminals in the dock. A clever and honest Scotch journalist, Mr. Maclaren, the founder of one of the most influential papers in his country, *The Scotsman*, visited France during my administration; he was astonished that the Government, whose policy he approved and honoured, had not in the periodical press a greater number of voluntary advocates; and that a parliamentary majority, which evidently represented great principles and great social interests, did not itself create for its own cause more multiplied and active organs. He had good reason to be surprised, and touched one of the weak points of the conservative party in France; but he was ignorant of the causes which, to a certain extent, excused and explained it. In countries where, with more or less freedom, according to the times, the great political parties have for a long while contested the exercise of power, they have felt the necessity and adopted the practice of explaining and defending themselves before the public, amongst whom are the judges they fear and the allies they court. Hence arise those permanent and independent organs, those assiduous interpreters and advocates, journals, reviews, miscellanies, and publications of every class, which the respective parties take care to institute and maintain. But France has never been a country of true political parties; never have the different great principles and interests been grouped together, disciplined, and placed in mutual presence, to conquer supremacy in the government of the country. Royalty, sustained or controlled, served

or shackled by the various social classes; and round that royalty and its most eminent servants, a public without regular organization, without acknowledged rights or effective institutions; free, notwithstanding, in spirit and speech, and concentrating all its liberty in surveying, criticising, and complaining, like the spectators in a theatre;—such, with the exception of a few passing circumstances, has been for ages the political system of France. The parties capable of pretending to power, and of co-operating openly in such a design, do not form themselves to this system. Thus, when constitutional monarchy was established in France, none were found ready to play the part to which it called them, to understand its duties, to fulfil its conditions, or to accept its combats. Friends were not wanting to power, but they were friends as little practised in the movement as prepared in the discipline of politics; unaccustomed to act alone, or to sustain spontaneously with independence, and on their own account, the government which upheld their cause. Hence arose the isolation, the abandonment, and consequently the weakness, to which it often found itself reduced. "I am approved," said King Louis-Philippe, with a sentiment of regret, "but I am not defended."

In that complaint there was something of unjust forgetfulness. The government of King Louis-Philippe, and the King himself, had not created, in the periodical press, skilful supporters. From 1830 to 1848, the *Journal des Débats* advocated the policy of legal order and resistance with equal constancy and firmness, spirit and ability. For myself, I received from that paper,

except in one instance, of which I shall speak in its place, the most decided and valuable support. I have already named my early connection with its two leading proprietors, the Messrs. Bertin, and particularly with M. Bertin de Veaux. After their death, M. Armand Bertin, who succeeded to the principal editorship, and M. de Sacy, his faithful and indefatigable associate, seconded me throughout my whole ministry, as we second our own cause and our chosen friends. M. de Sacy has lately reprinted his most important articles on philosophical, historical, and literary criticism, written during his long co-operation with the journal he directs at present. If, as I hope, he will also republish his leading political essays, it will be seen that the steadiness of his monarchical and liberal faith have equalled the judicious inspiration of his talent. We have no right to call ourselves deserted when we have such defenders. But it is not the less true that, in the combat it sustained, the *Journal des Débats* stood too much alone, and that the conservative party knew not how to profit by the liberty of the press, or to employ in that field of action a sufficient number of independent and resolute champions.

Another condition is not less essential to enable power and the periodical press, under a free system, to live in close contact with each other, without disturbing the state. Power must be indifferent as well as bold; and while its partizans maintain the struggle with vigour, it should bear blows with patience, and not be too eager either to stop or punish them. There should be no languor in the struggle before the public,

no eager anxiety to prosecute before the tribunals. The most illustrious and sensible of all the heads of free governments, Washington, has furnished examples on this point the more striking as he suffered much ndividually from his own wisdom. No one was ever more outraged by the extravagance of the press, or more deeply wounded by its calumnies; no one more keenly felt the mischief or acknowledged the danger. "If discontent, suspicion, and irritation are thus scattered abroad with full hands," he wrote to the attorney-general, Randolph, "if the government and its officers are to be incessantly exposed to the attacks of the newspapers, without any examination of facts or motives, I fear it will become impossible for any man under the sun to manage the helm or keep together the different parts of the machine." And later, with reference to the personal attacks of which he was the object, "I did not believe, I could not imagine, until these latter times, that it was, I will not say probable, but possible, that while I gave myself up to the most irksome efforts to establish a national policy,—a policy exclusively our own,—and to preserve this country from the horrors of war, all the acts of my administration would be tortured and disfigured in a manner at once the most gross and insidious, and in terms so exaggerated and indecent, that they are scarcely applicable to Nero, to a notorious malefactor, or even to a common pickpocket. But I have said more than enough, and have already indulged too far in the expression of my feelings." Washington did not go further; he waited the justice

of opinion without appealing to that of the laws. I admit that this contemptuous patience was easy in his position. His person and policy, it is true, were unworthily assailed, but there the attack ended. It was very different with us in 1833. The blows of the hostile press were directed against the very existence of the government, the fundamental basis of society itself; every possible motive called upon us to repress them vigorously; the actual danger, the evident violation of the laws, the indignant clamours of the friends of order, the terror produced on the public mind by these unbridled attacks, and the necessity of intimidating, in their turn, those who thus alarmed the community. Impelled by these strong reasons, we engaged in a series of press prosecutions, which were as far from reaching all the cases calling for such interference, as from satisfying the urgent instances of our friends, but which perpetually brought back the same questions, the same offences, the same scenes, and often the same accused. Here, I feel convinced, was an error, inevitable, perhaps, in the existing state of parties and minds, but one which aggravated the mischief we were anxious to stifle. The greater part of these prosecutions ended in scandalous acquittals, which betrayed the weakness of the juries, sometimes of the judges, and redoubled the audacity of the assailants. Amongst the condemnations pronounced, some were deficient in equity, for they struck the legitimists more heavily than the republicans, a melancholy symptom of pusillanimous partiality, and a source of irritation to the party treated with such unequal rigour. The courts

of assize and the tribunals became theatres in which the conspirators had no fear of appearing, and in which they displayed even more arrogance than they had exhibited in their writings. Rarity of prosecution in the midst of the scandal of these attacks would certainly have had its bad effects; it would have excited against the authorities the reproaches and complaints of their friends; but, well explained, either in the tribune or in the disputes of the journals themselves, and represented as an act of forbearance, not arising from terror or carelessness, but of mature will and political foresight, it would have been ultimately understood; and, at all events, the corresponding inconveniences would have been better than this continued display of the violence and insolence of faction, contrasted with the weakness of justice, and of new pretexts continually furnished for spiteful or calumnious declamations, without any serious effort of repression or intimidation.

Of these trials, I wish only to recall one, the most remarkable of all, and the most provoked by facts, as also a case in which the error I have pointed out signally manifested itself. For a long time, the Chamber of Deputies, body and members, had been unworthily outraged, calumniated, and cried down by the republican journals, and particularly by the *Tribune*, at that time the most audacious and cynical of the whole. A man of mind and courage,—who possessed this rare merit and happy endowment that his impulses of self-love and ebullitions of language, his ingenuous passion and free epigrams, have never altered his conduct or affected the esteem and regard of his numerous

friends,—M. Viennet, proposed to the Chamber to summon the journalist to their bar, and to restrain such excesses. After long debates, and notwithstanding the declared abstention of the greater part of the members of the opposition, the Chamber adopted the proposal; the responsible manager of the *Tribune* was ordered to appear, and his two principal editors—M. Godfrey Cavaignac and M. Armand Marrast,—were admitted to defend him. They both acquitted themselves as men of spirit and ability; the one, with the bitter, menacing pride of a fanatical heir of the Convention and the Jacobins; the other, with the inexhaustible gall of an anxious and vain man of letters, irritated at being in a position below his aspirations, and who revenges himself by pouring forth his pretensions and antipathies under the veil of his ideas. We saw pompously exhibited before us, the principles and plans of the party called upon the scene; the tyranny of the multitude appeared under the name of the sovereignty of the people; the electoral lie was decorated with the title of universal suffrage; the crushing unity of the central power was enthroned as the symbol of national concord. We listened to the glorification of the pretended abolishment of all inequality of condition, of progressive taxation, and of legislative interference to secure and accelerate the unlimited division of property; of all the ideas, sentiments, anti-social and anti-liberal dreams which already, amongst us, have ruined and dishonoured even the very name of a republic, but which, while waiting the day of errors, excite against established order so many passions and hopes, the one essen-

tially evil and illegitimate, the other absurd and chimerical.

The Chamber looked on with mournful dignity at this representation of intellectual chaos, a prelude to the political confusion it would scarcely be pardoned for repulsing. The president, M. Dupin, superintended this scene appropriately, without severity or weakness, by maintaining the respect due to the Chamber and the laws, while at the same time he respected the right of free defence for the accused. The manager of the *Tribune* was condemned; but Messrs. Cavaignac and Marrast retired, haughty and contented, as well for their party as for themselves, with the satisfaction they had given to their adherents, and the fears they had impressed on their enemies. Great public authorities ought not to exhibit themselves thus silently in conflict with the professed doctors of revolt and anarchy; it is in the field of liberty, and with arms in hand, that they ought to engage in similar combats.

While we occasionally embarked in these inopportune and ineffective struggles against the spirit of revolution, we also yielded injurious concessions to it by our acts or non-interference. Discord recommenced between the two Chambers on the abrogation of the law relative to mourning on the 21st of January. We allowed this feeling to proceed and augment, without assuming for ourselves, from the opening of the question, any decided attitude, in conformity with the language held by the Duke de Broglie, in 1832, when the Chamber of Peers, for the first time deliberated on the proposition. M. Bavoux, in the Chamber of Deputies, repeated his

demand for the re-establishment of divorce. We took no part in the debate on this grave question of social morality and civil rights, and it proceeded to extinguish itself in the Chamber of Peers without the expression of any opinion on the part of the cabinet. We preserved the same silence on another leading question of civil and political order, the abolition of entailed estates, which so closely touches the rights of individual property and the constitution of families. We felt ourselves compelled to present the bill, called for by petition in 1831, for giving pensions to the survivors amongst the captors of the Bastille; and while connecting ourselves with it, we refrained from expressing on this subject the reserves which every government owes to itself, when a popular insurrection is treated of, accompanied by murders and deplorable scenes. Our abstention on these several occasions was perhaps necessary; we had, while carrying out the policy of order and resistance, so many contests to maintain, so many serious questions to decide ourselves, that we were most naturally inclined to keep aloof from those not absolutely imposed upon us, or which, without our interruption, were likely to have a favourable issue. But under a free system, it is unbecoming in power, and gives it a helpless appearance, to remain inert in the midst of the great debates prevailing round it, and to suffer them to be agitated between friends and adversaries, without assuming its own suitable part, and exercising its legitimate influence. If this forbearance is not always wrong, it is invariably weak.

Despite these troubles and embarrassments, we were

justified, when opening the session of 1834, in believing the country and its government to be in a favourable condition; no great physical disorder had sprung up and carried alarm to private interests. "The travellers who return from France," M. de Barante wrote to me from Turin, "tell wonders of our prosperity, of our tranquil state, of our incredible liberty, and of the judicious patience of King Louis-Philippe." The numerous and important laws passed during the preceding session were in regular exercise; public works were in active progress; elementary schools multiplied rapidly; the election placed quietly, throughout all France, by the side of active administration, new councils of departments and divisions, enlightened patrons of local interests, who brought to the government and its policy the support of their independent adhesion. Political life developed itself in the bosom of order, if not well secured, at least maintained for the present, and whatever vestiges of alarm remained excited instead of chilling resolution. "The situation is improved," M. de Rémusat now wrote to me from Toulouse, "and precisely because it is less serene. You know that I mistrust nothing so much as an exaggerated security which would lead to the explosion of every kind of cloud, pretension, or vanity. We always require a certain degree of danger to make us reasonable. For the same cause, I think little of these combinations of work-people. Notwithstanding many appearances, I do not yet look upon them as formidable. No one believes more stedfastly than I do that we have in France a serious social malady, superior perhaps

to all human remedies; but it may still be palliated for a long time. These troubles are premature symptoms; they can only rally the middle classes, and put them on their guard. Here they occupy themselves greatly with these sort of events; people who, until now, have remained undisturbed, begin to be anxious, and to see what has stared you and I in the face for the last three years."

M. de Rémusat had cause for thinking that we required a little danger to make us reasonable. There was much in the position of affairs; not enough, however,—that is to say, not enough of a pressing or visible form,—to maintain in unity the different elements of the party of order under the new monarchy. From the first sessions of the Chamber of Deputies, in the formation of its bureau, in the composition and debate on its address in reply to the speech from the throne, the diversity of these elements, if not their discord, hastened to display itself. There was some difficulty in coming to an understanding on the choice of vice-presidents and secretaries to the Chamber, and the third party assumed a greater part in this question than its real strength seemed to warrant. The first outline of the address, the sketch which almost universally decides the colouring of the picture, was intrusted to M. Etienne, a writer born of the third party, a soft and dim mind with an apparent clearness, and an attraction of bad alloy; shrewd, without distinctness; skilful in conveying hints without speaking out, and in inflicting injury without striking a blow.

The address, full of general declarations in favour of

order, and againts all factions, was otherwise vague, almost silent on the policy in vigour, interspersed with indirect counsels and hopes, all bearing upon the future, as if it was not to be regarded as a sequel to the present. Thus, in the debate, the address was lauded and accepted by the principal orators of the opposition, anxious to mark the symptoms and develop the seeds of division in the heart of the majority. The cabinet was not to be seduced into this snare. Without caring for the address or looking for its hidden tendencies, we maintained firmly, against ardent though obsolete attacks, the policy we had exercised and intended to pursue. I persisted, as I had done under the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, in characterising it by its true name, resistance to anarchy; and in its monarchical principle the contract of the country with a prince of the royal house, a stranger to the faults and false maxims of the elder branch, and the only possible King in the crisis which those faults had brought on. It was during this debate that the distinction (so often drawn in former times) was re-introduced between my definition of the call to the throne of the Duke of Orleans in 1830, *because he was a Bourbon*, and that of M. Dupin, *although he was a Bourbon*; a dis-accordance puerile in appearance, for both assertions were true. If the Duke of Orleans had not been a prince and a Bourbon, no one would have thought of him; and if he had been any other Bourbon, a Bourbon engaged in the cause of the old system, the Prince de Condé, for instance, no one would have accepted him. But despite the vanity of its apparent motive, the distinction was serious, and

exemplified two very opposite policies. Where I saw a necessary King, and the Charter maintained while modified, M. Dupin beheld "an elected monarch and a charter created by *you*," as he said to the Chamber; "and imposed by the nation on royalty." I demanded for the advantage of the establishment of 1830, monarchical traditions; M. Dupin gave it the revolution for its only cradle.

If I pause for a moment on these quarrels, now so far removed from us, it is that they explain events, as they contributed to produce them. The first ideas which establish themselves as maxims in the human mind have more power over us than we are aware of, and there are controlling influences of logic as of passion from which we cannot escape. I shall explain my thought without reserve. On this subject there was in the mind of M. Dupin more of confusion and of incoherence than of clear system and decided opinion. He was not, and he has never been a revolutionist, either in principles or conduct; and when that party was violently in the ascendant, he has more than once resolutely opposed it. But he neither attacked the evil in its source, nor in its remote progress. Through want of foresight or prudence, others, with less spirit and talent, preserved towards the forerunners, voluntary or involuntary, of revolutionary attempts the same circumspection, and blamed me for pointing out too loudly, and too long before, the dangers they flattered themselves they could charm away by not speaking of them. I often fancied that my ears re-echoed the words of Prusias to Nicomedes: "I beseech you not to

embroil me with the republic." And I had nothing satisfactory to reply; for looking upon the republic in our days, and with us, as the mendacious passport of anarchy, it was precisely with it that I was bent on embroiling my epoch and my country.

Once more the revolutionary spirit took upon itself to prove that those were deceived, who expected any accommodation with it. While the merits or mistakes of the policy of resistance were being debated in the Chambers, the anarchical party (let me not always call it republican, though it constantly gave itself that name), employed to oppose it and to foment revolt, the most audacious means. A multitude of public criers paraded the streets, selling and distributing to casual passers by, all sorts of pamphlets and small tracts, the inventions of the day, or reprints from more pernicious times: the "Republican Catechism;" the "Catechism of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen;" "Select Works of Maximilian Robespierre;" "Opinion of Couthon, member of the National Convention, on the Sentence of Louis XVI.;" the "Republican Calendar," with the portrait of Robespierre in a sun, and dated in the year 42 of the republic, which thus reclaimed its legitimacy; the "Pillory, to the Gibbet with the Town Sergeants," &c. &c. The contents of these writings accorded with their titles; they were alternately direct incentives to insurrection, furious diatribes against kings, nobles, rich persons, all the authorities, and all elected distinctions, with the grossest insults and calumnies against the depositaries of power, from the highest to the most insignificant. The

administration endeavoured to put a stop to this rampant disorder; several criers were seized and sent before the tribunals. The tribunals, the royal court, as also the judges of the inferior civil courts, all declared that according to the terms of existing legislation, if the criers had made the preliminary declaration required by the act of the 10th of December, 1830, it was a free vocation to which no obstacle could be offered; and the matter could only be dealt with by prosecutions for offences of the press, as in regard to all other kinds of published works, and every other mode of sale or distribution. Armed with this opinion, the manager of a popular journal, the "Good Sense," M. Rodde, repaired in a blouse and cap, the ordinary costume of the criers, to the square of the Exchange, and began distributing a packet of printed papers: "I will resist," he declared beforehand, "every attempt at arrest or arbitrary seizure; I will repel violence by violence; I call to my aid all citizens who still believe in the efficacy of the law. Let the authorities take care: the tumult, if any ensues, will not arise from my act; I am on legal ground, and I have a right to appeal to the courage of the French people. I have a right to call on *insurrection*: in this case, it will be, now or never, the holiest of duties?" The courage was easy: the government had announced that all prosecution of the criers would cease until the point of jurisprudence was definitively settled, either by the Court of Appeal, or by the law. The crowd, which on his appearance had surrounded and applauded the journalist crier, soon dispersed. The mischief was flagrant, the scandal at its height, and the

impotence of the law admitted. More than six million copies of inflammatory or insensate publications were distributed within the space of three months. The cabinet presented to the Chamber of Deputies a new law, which subjected the crier, vendor, or distributor of writings in the public thoroughfares to the authority and superintendence of the municipal authority. The debate was animated; the minister of the Interior, M. d'Argout, read in the tribune several passages from distributed pamphlets; the Chamber listened with anger and disgust. "Enough!" exclaimed M. Dubois de Nantes, from his place, "it is infamous!" Defenders, however, were not wanting for the criers; the more moderate demanded freedom for industry, the more insolent accused the police themselves of printing and distributing the most offensive pamphlets. The Chamber, by a large majority, adopted the proposed law; there were, notwithstanding, 122 voices for its rejection. I am disposed to believe that, amongst this number, several would have voted for it had they believed the result to be doubtful. Many persons willingly dispense with courage, when others are ready to assume it for them.

It was no longer possible to be deceived. The position became what it had been under M. Casimir Périer. The struggle recommenced in the streets; the revolutionary party were disposed once more to appeal to physical force. Irritated rather than discouraged by repeated defeats, their hopes were as stubborn as their passions. The mind intoxicates itself like the body; there are dominant ideas, which having once taken

possession of the understanding, disturb the sight, inflame the blood, distend the muscles, and impel men towards the object they aspire to and promise themselves, whatever may be the dangers to encounter, the crimes to commit, or the obstacles to surmount for its accomplishment. In the name of the sovereignty of the people, the revolutionists believed themselves possessed of right and numbers. Moral and practical sense being thus blinded, they had equal faith in their cause and its success. Overthrow by armed attack was their settled idea and incessant effort. They prepared themselves for this issue in 1833 with a singular mixture of public audacity and concealed plots. Through the discipline of various secret societies under the central committee of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, they established everywhere, associated bands, correspondents, agents lost in the crowd, and eager to recruit allies from thence. In the manufacturing towns, in all the great centres of population and industry, they established communications with the brotherhoods and societies for mutual succour of the working classes; fomented amongst them the discontents and combinations ever produced by stagnation of trade and questions of wages, and drew them, often against their instinct and inclination, towards the camp of the republic, sometimes by pretending its near approach, and at others by promising in its name the satisfaction and prosperity which, in common with every other system, it was unable to bring them. In the summer of 1833, on the anniversary days of the Revolution of July, the party anticipated in Paris a favourable opportunity, and

had prepared an insurrection. It miscarried, through the measures of the authorities, and in some measure from the internal discords of the party itself. In its ranks were certain men, not less decidedly republicans than their fiery friends, but less devoid of foresight and scruple, who discountenanced unlicensed violence, or appeals to physical force, and tried at least to delay their explosion. But such impediments are promptly set aside. If we are not disposed to be carried away by the ties of party, we should break them frankly, when the attempt to use their influence fails to restrain our associates. M. de La Fayette and M. Armand Carrel neglected this resolution, and M. Godfrey Cavaignac and M. Armand Marrast, more powerful than they, continued to take advantage of their names whilst despising their advice. They had no more hesitation in compromising their soldiers than their chiefs. No sooner did they receive from their associates in the departments, adhesions and promises of fidelity under all events, than the *Tribune* published them with a grand flourish of eulogium and expectation. The party thus vibrated between underhand subtlety and declared audacity, displaying, by turns, for the advancement of its designs, the advantages of mystery and open avowal.

When the act against public criers appeared, an attempt was made to prevent its execution. The committee protested; the criers re-appeared in the streets; they were seized; they resisted; tumultuous groups assembled; the town sergeants with some companies of national guards and soldiers interfered; contests ensued; the repression was effective; it was also

necessary and legal; sometimes perhaps it merged into brutality. The sedition was flagrant. At Lyons, at Marseilles, and at St. Etienne, it burst forth as in Paris. An agent of the municipal police was assassinated, a commissary of police dangerously wounded: governments have not angels in their service to contend with demons. Much clamour was raised in the Chamber of Deputies against the rudeness of the legal agents, to palliate the conduct of the seditious: but this quarrel soon fell to the ground. On both sides, more serious calamities were expected. Determined on an attack, the republicans in all quarters arrayed themselves in arms; the cabinet resolved to strike the evil in its root; eight days after the promulgation of the law against the criers, the bill against associations was presented.

I have no wish to extenuate its bearing and character. It subjected to the direct authority of government (an authority always revocable) every association formed, according to the terms of the penal code, "for religious, literary, political, or other purposes." It secured, by classifying jurisdictions, by providing for the repetition of an offence, and by the precision rather than the extent of penalties, the efficacy of its arrangements. The government which proposed this law, most assuredly had no intention of applying it to any societies unconnected with politics, and particularly not to religious assemblies: this was formally explained in both Chambers. But parliamentary explanations are not legislative enactments; the words of one minister are not binding on his successors; the most innocent as well as the most seditious meetings, religion and conspiracy, fell under the

necessity of the preliminary permission; and even if it had never, in fact, attempted to fetter assemblies not political, the new law was not the less in principle a serious infringement on liberty, and especially on religious liberty. It maintained, while developing, the penal code of the old Empire; it has become the basis of legislation in the new Empire. It was a law of circumstance, necessary, I am well convinced, and which the constitutional powers had ample right to pass, but it should only have been presented as a law of exception and for a limited time. This was its true character, and thus defined, it could have feared no solid objection. But the mere name of exceptional law had become so unpopular, it seemed so closely allied to the worst reminiscences of the Revolution and the Restoration, that no one, whether amongst the friends or enemies of the cabinet, would have desired to assume its responsibility. When amendments were proposed in this sense, they were almost unanimously rejected. A defective principle was received rather than an appearance in disrepute. It was preferred to restrict popular rights in perpetuity, rather than to suspend them formally for a given time, while acknowledging their existence. This is not the only instance in which public feeling has shown itself so little judicious and so much governed by routine in its prepossessions, to the great injury of the lasting interests and liberties of the country.

During fifteen days the Chamber gravely debated this bill. Never perhaps had all opinions, and every shade of opinion manifested themselves so sincerely. The partizans of the policy of resistance, convinced

that they were facing an urgent necessity, and fulfilling an imperious duty, adhered without reserve to the proposed law, and defended it as energetically as did the ministers themselves. In the opposition, the body of the party, the men who honourably desired to maintain the government of 1830, were perplexed; they felt the evil, but were averse to the remedy; they proposed others more suited to calm their own doubts than to cure the mischief. M. Bérenger de la Drôme, and M. Odilon Barrot, were the honourable and able organs of this conscientious and ineffectual timidity. In both camps, two isolated voices presented themselves, one to oppose, the other to support the bill, but on grounds entirely foreign to the general turn of the debate. M. Mauguin, with the dexterous and sometimes brilliant eloquence in which his foppery displayed itself, took up the quarrel of the first days of June, 1830, of the Hôtel de Ville against the Chamber of Deputies, of M. Casimir Périer against M. Laffitte, imputing to the policy of resistance all the evils and perils of the position; appealing to all the revolutionary passions and practices, while assuming the air of discarding them with the contempt of a consummate politician. M. Jouffroy admitted the danger of the associations, without thinking it so serious, and the utility of the law, without believing it to be as effectual as its supporters imagined. It was, he said, a more profound evil, to which the country was a prey, and one which required a more potent remedy. Since the decline of faith and Christian discipline, France was harassed by an unsatisfied moral want, the true cause of our social disturbances; and he called the solicitude of

power to this elevated point of the horizon, while according to it, in the inferior regions, the support it demanded. Unconnected with the two camps in presence, but highly interested spectators of the blows they mutually exchanged, M. Berryer and M. Garnier-Pagès—the one in the name of monarchical right, the other on behalf of universal suffrage and the republic; the first with his expansive eloquence, the second with his clear succint ness,—indulged in the easy satisfaction of saying to the cabinet and the opposition, "You are dealing with an incurable evil; your remedies are unjust and futile; resign yourselves to your impotence and your perils." The Chamber listened to all with sympathy or displeasure, according as its feelings were satisfied or wounded, but completely independent of the orators: the gravity of the situation had previously regulated its opinions and conduct; the firmness of resolution had even subdued passion. The debate, solid and brilliant, was neither stormy nor effectual; at the end of fifteen days, the Chamber, by a strong majority, passed the bill as it probably would have passed it on the first evening; that is to say, exactly as it had been presented by the cabinet, who immediately carried it to the Chamber of Peers.

Before it underwent there the trial of a fresh debate, an unexpected incident altered the composition of the ministry, and opened a series of lamentable complications. The decrees issued at Berlin and Milan by the Emperor Napoleon in 1806 and 1807 in reprisal for the British orders in council on the commerce of neutral powers during the war, had led to the seizure or de-

struction of a great number of American vessels. In 1810, when the best relations began to be re-established between France and America, the Government of the United States warmly demanded for its citizens, indemnities to the amount of nearly seventy millions. In 1812, the Emperor Napoleon admitted the principle of this demand, and it then became the object of four reports, the last of which proposed to the United States an indemnity of eighteen millions, which they rejceted as insufficient. The different cabinets of the Restoration, without contesting in fact the justice of the American claims, eluded their effectual examination, and the government of July, on its accession, found the question still pending and urgent. The new government was most justly anxious to preserve the best possible understanding with the United States; their demands became the object of a most careful inquiry, and on the 4th of July, 1831, under the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, a treaty signed by General Sébastiani settled at twenty-five millions the indemnity due to the Americans, first deducting from that sum 1,500,000 francs to satisfy various demands of French citizens upon the United States. The American Government, moreover, conferred on the wines of France, for ten years, very advantageous privileges. Soon after the formation of the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, M. Humann submitted to the Chamber of Deputies the financial measures necessary for the execution of this treaty. The session was too far advanced for the bill to be then discussed. Re-introduced during the short session of 1833, and subsequently in that of 1834, it became, on

the 10th of March, the object of a long report, in which M. Jay, in the name of a unanimous committee, proposed its complete adoption. The debate was not violent, there was no pretext for violence, but it was obstinate. I do not hesitate to say, over the cold ashes of that epoch, that the Duke de Broglie and M. Duchâtel demonstrated peremptorily the moral equity and political wisdom of the transaction, which put an end, between two countries, to an old quarrel becoming daily more embittered. The law of nations and sound sense equally prescribed the fulfilment of the measure. But the question was one which involved a crowd of others, insignificant, obscure, and overloaded with details and figures, in which the subtlety of legists and the malice of opponents could readily find arms. They did not spare themselves; the discussion was closed exactly at the moment when an ill-understood incident embarrassed the principal question, and Article 1, which was in fact the bill itself, was rejected by a majority of eight.

The Chamber was not prepared for this result, and sought with anxiety for an explanation. There were rumours of intrigues and smothered dissensions in the cabinet. Amongst our faithful adherents some said that the twenty-five millions to be paid to the United States deranged M. Humann's budget, and made it perceptible that he had no great desire that the bill should pass. M. Humann was incapable of such disloyalty; but he had committed the error of not speaking in the debate in support of the measure he had himself proposed. Silence, maintained through complaisance for our own inclination, is easily

construed into treason. Others accused Marshal Soult, who was supposed to be hostile to the Duke de Broglie from jealousy or ill-temper, and some of the marshal's most intimate friends were named as having, it was said, voted against the bill. However this might be, the Duke de Broglie, as proud as he was unambitious, and resolved not to submit to a personal check, immediately waited on the King to tender his resignation. General Sébastiani, who had joined the Council as minister without a portfolio, for the express support of the treaty he had signed, followed his example, and thus an open breach existed in the cabinet.

It became urgent to close it. Within the Chambers, the law against associations was in suspense; without, insurrection murmured on all sides, waiting only a propitious hour to explode. My intimacy with the Duke de Broglie did not lead me to hesitate for a moment. I declared myself ready to remain in the lists to continue the combat, provided it was not only certain, but evident, that the policy of resistance was not compromised; and that the cabinet, though weakened in its composition, had lost nothing in determination. I required also that the successor of the Duke de Broglie should be one of his friends, well known for such, and prepared to follow, in Foreign affairs, the same line of conduct. Admiral de Rigny answered fully to both these conditions, and assumed forthwith the portfolio of Foreign affairs, while yielding that of the Marine to M. Jacob. The changes did not stop there. Two other ministers, M. Barthe and M. d'Argout, had certainly not been wanting, since

the formation of the cabinet, either in fidelity or courage; but they had little influence in the Chambers, and were more attacked there than supported. M. Thiers and I arranged between us, that in leaving the government, they should neither accuse the Crown nor their colleagues of ingratitude, and that we should propose to the King effective successors. The King agreed to our suggestions; M. Thiers passed to the department of the Interior; M. Duchâtel, one of my most intimate friends, and who had recently defended with much firmness the American treaty, succeeded him in the ministry of Trade and Public Works. M. Persil, who had served his apprenticeship in judicial practice, and in a parliamentary defence of the policy of resistance, became Chancellor in place of M. Barthe, and four days after the retirement of the Duke de Broglie the cabinet was re-constructed.

On the same day, when it met for the first time, the 5th of April, the Republican insurrection at Lyons burst forth. Such was, in truth, from its commencement, the character of the sanguinary struggle of which Lyons again became the theatre in 1834. In November, 1831, during the ministry of M. Casimir Périer, it was the industrial question, the quarrel respecting wages and compulsory tariffs, which had excited sedition; the labouring population of Lyons had risen for private grievances and without any political conspiracy. The revolutionary party fomented the movement and eagerly joined in it, but the greater part of the Lyonese workmen loudly protested against the designs of which they were the imputed instru-

ments. I have already repeated their demeanour and language on that occasion. Beaten in 1831 in their personal cause, they had remained desponding and irritated. The revolutionary party set themselves vigorously to work to encourage these resentments. In 1833, there were three journals in Lyons, the "Precursor," the "Gleaner," and the "Echo of the Manufactory;" as opposite in shade and style, as the "National" and "Tribune" in Paris, but all three republican, declared enemies of the monarchy of 1830, and zealous for its overthrow. Secret societies expanded rapidly at Lyons, and entered into relations with the various associations of the operatives, which became from day to day more intimate. The "Carbonari" had there their *Invisible Committee*; the *Society of the Rights of Man*, established in October, 1833, a central committee empowered to conduct, in the city and surrounding departments, its affairs and associates. The heads of the party, amongst others, M. Godfrey Cavaignac and M. Garnier Pagès, visited Lyons from time to time, alternately to encourage and restrain their people, but always to organize in concert the impending insurrection. A sudden stroke attempted, not absolutely at Lyons, but at its gates and in a foreign land, supplied the signal and the impulse. Some Italian refugees, including Poles and others, who resided in Switzerland, and in France bordering on Switzerland, proposed to enter Savoy in arms, and to excite a movement in that quarter, destined on the one side to pass the Alps and raise Italy, and on the other to recross the frontier and spread through France. The leader,

or to speak more correctly, the soul of Italian revolution, M. Mazzini, was in Switzerland, whence he politically planned the insurrection. General Ramorino, who had acquired some fame in Poland, was to assume the military command. In 1833, for good reasons, or under doubtful pretexts, the general departed, returned, hesitated, and delayed. The project was adjourned. On the passionate remonstrances of M. Mazzini, it was resumed towards the end of January, 1834, and then arranged amongst the conspirators that at the moment when the expedition began its march, the operatives of Lyons should demand an increase of wages, suspend labour in all workshops if it should be refused, and thus deliver over to the movement an idle, irritated, and suffering population. Towards the 10th of February, these two facts were simultaneously carried out. The refugees entered Savoy; the Lyonese labourers, either of their own accord or driven by menaces, suspended work in the manufactory. But on the first onset, the attempt of the refugees failed miserably. Ill led, and finding no support in Savoy, they returned precipitately to France and Switzerland: the soldiers dispersed, and the chiefs sought refuge in their asylums. Left to themselves, the Lyonese labourers became uneasy and divided. "They refuse to work," thus wrote one of the leaders, "and are unwilling to commence. They say the first step belongs to the republicans. They deceive themselves. At all events, in a few days, necessity will force them where they should already have been led by patriotism and duty. The groups we have formed sing the

Marseillaise in the Place des Terreaux. They have just been re-assembled in the streets adjoining the square of the Hotel de Ville. They will finish before long." The day had not yet arrived. Many amongst the labourers wished to resume work. They called upon the prefect to arrange their disagreement with the manufacturers. But the prefect of Lyons in 1834, M. de Gasparin, was a man equally prudent, firm, and patient; as judicious in the practical exercise of administration as he was well instructed in the principles of public economy. He replied that he had no business to interfere in the relations between the workmen and their employers, and that mutual liberty ought to exist between them: he preserved order and freedom at the same time. With the close of February, the workmen grew tired of idleness as painful as it was vain, and resumed their labours. At Lyons, the industrial quarrel thus subsided, but in Paris the political struggle became more and more ardent. The Chamber of Deputies debated the bill against associations; the republicans found in that bill, flames to rekindle the fire at Lyons. Those amongst the workmen who had engaged in the *Society of the Rights of Man*, readily disseminated irritation and mistrust amongst their comrades. Certain leaders had been arrested as promoters of sedition and combination. They appeared on the 5th of April before the tribunal. Confident in the moral authority of justice, and jealous of its dignity, the president and King's attorney had on the preceding day requested of the prefect that no armed force should be previously employed, to protect them on

their seats. The court was opened; a crowd pressed into the hall and surrounding square; a great tumult ensued; a witness for the prosecution was insulted and beaten. The King's attorney, M. Chegaray, young, courageous, and enthusiastic in his duty, ran out to protect him, and was himself insulted and ill-treated in his turn. The president hastily called for military aid; a picquet of infantry arrived, few in number and embarrassed in its movements. "No bayonets," shouted the crowd, and workmen amicably snatched the muskets from the hands of the soldiers, who defended them weakly. The court rose, and adjourned the trial to the 9th of April, in the midst of the tumultuous joy of the republicans, who flattered themselves that they had won over the troops and intimidated the authorities.

On the 9th of April, as soon as day broke, doubt could exist no longer; Lyons was in prey, not to a confused and tumultuous agitation, but to a violent and organized movement; it was evident that resolutions had been taken, instructions given, preparations accomplished, and the hour appointed. The court was to open at eleven o'clock: up to that moment, the square of Saint-John was vacant and quiet. The insurgents had determined to appear in a mass and act suddenly. The affiliated members of the *Society of the Rights of Man* were ready and assembled in their respective sections. At half-past eleven, the court being then open, a first band arrived, followed by others; barricades were instantly thrown up at the angles of the square, and at the same moment in every quarter of

the city. A proclamation, dated the preceding day, loudly republican and outrageously violent against King Louis-Philippe and his ministers, was profusely disseminated. The attack began on all sides. It found the authorities, civil and military, equally prepared, and waiting for the first blow. In concert with the prefect and the municipal magistrates, General Aymard and the generals under his orders had arranged their plan. From daybreak, troops of all arms, provided with ammunition and stores, had occupied the posts assigned to them; there was no appearance of a popular and unlooked for outbreak; it was a premeditated and organized war of the republican pretenders against the established government. This contest, which stained Lyons with blood and desolation throughout five days, was maintained by the insurgents with inventive audacity and fanatical fierceness; by the troops with a fidelity to their flag, and a vigour which, towards the conclusion, was not entirely divested of rage. I do not care to repeat here the details, or to discuss the mutual accusations and retorts of the two parties. All war, and civil war above every other, abounds in acts of violence and clemency, of generosity and barbarism; in deplorable as well as in inevitable accidents. I merely propose to indicate clearly the political character of this contest of 1834. The revolutionary conspiracy was general and long breathed. While it was in explosion at Lyons, the party attempted the same stroke on a multitude of other points; at St. Etienne, at Vienne, at Grenoble, at Châlons, at Auxerre, at Arbois, at Marseilles, and at Luneville. In the streets of

Lyons, during the combat, bulletins, dated like the proclamations, the 42nd year of the republic, conveyed incessantly to the insurgents intelligence nearly always false, to maintain their courage. "At Vienne," said one of these bulletins (22nd of *Germinal*, April the 14th), "the national guard is in possession of the town; it has seized the artillery despatched against us. Everywhere the insurrection spreads. Patience and courage. The garrison must become weak and demoralized. Even though it should hold its positions, we have only to keep it in check until the arrival of our friends from the departments." But the garrison did not become demoralized; the friends from the departments never arrived; on the evening of the 13th of April, in every quarter of the city, the vanquished insurrection ceased to exist; and authority invariably re-established, was astonished to find, amongst the slain, the prisoners, and the wounded brought to the hospitals, scarcely one-tenth belonging to the workmen engaged in the silk-manufactories, and six strangers for every Lyonese.

At the first report, and from the first hour of these events, we never deceived ourselves as to their importance. While they extended their arms at a distance and excited insurrection on so many different points, the republican societies in Paris prepared to second vigorously these scattered risings. Far from arresting, their internal dissensions inflamed their passions, and urged them on to great attempts. A gentleman of Brittany, nephew on the mother's side to La Tour d'Auvergne, the first grenadier of France, and who had himself acquired in the army, during fifteen years'

service, a well-deserved reputation for courage and bold capacity, M. de Kersausie, at once a fiery and obstinate spirit, domineering and popular, had become an ultra-democrat, a republican, a member of the central committee of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, and a despiser of all hesitation. He organized separately, on his own account, under the name of *Society of Action*, a small community of twelve hundred men, selected one by one, all well known to and knowing him, devotedly bold and obedient, full of faith in their leader, and ready to follow him without question or delay. They had amongst themselves no written communications, no fixed place or time of meeting. M. de Kersausie indicated to them when and where they were to meet, whether separately or in groups. He came, delivered his passing instructions, and went on to others, relying on their fidelity, and promising success. As soon as the disturbances broke out in Lyons he held his followers in hand, ready for action, and waiting for his signal. By the side of this silent organization, the republican journals announced with a loud flourish the pretended victory of the Lyonese insurrection: "The people are masters of the ground," said the *Tribune*, "they have proclaimed a provisional government and the republic. The troops have become gradually disheartened; a truce of twelve hours has been requested and obtained by the general. These are immense facts." The facts were false, and in its own papers as in the Chambers, the cabinet denied them loudly: but where passion reigns, truth cannot destroy the effect of a lie. It was evident that the conspirators of Paris were

disposed to hasten to the aid of their brethren at Lyons: it was our duty, even while doubtful of success, to try and stifle the fire on its own hearth. M. Thiers, with provident boldness, arrested the chiefs of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, Messrs. Godfrey Cavaignac and Kersausie alone escaped; but on the following day, M. de Kersausie, walking along the boulevards to review once more his dispersed neophytes, was recognized, seized, and carried away, notwithstanding his resistance and his loud cries of "Republicans to the rescue!" which brought no succour. A second committee, arranged on the instant by the society, was equally surprised and arrested, while seals were affixed to the presses of the *Tribune*. M. Thiers took the initiative in these acts, to which we all, with him, pledged our responsibility; but we did not conceal from ourselves that such measures, necessary to evince the firm resolution of power and well calculated to throw confusion amongst the insurrectionists, would scarcely suffice to subdue them. Still uncertain as to the issue of the struggle in progress at Lyons, and ready to commence in Paris, M. Thiers and I agreed that if it continued, one of us would repair, with the Duke of Orleans, to the army, to defend the monarchy against the rebels of the south, while the other remained in Paris to watch over the safety of the King, and the general cares of the government. We had no occasion to adopt these extreme measures. On the 13th of April a telegraphic despatch arrived from Lyons, dated the preceding evening, and running thus: "Lyons is delivered; the suburbs occupied by the insurgents

are in our power; communications are everywhere restored; the mails recommence running this evening; the anarchists are in the utmost disorder." Immediately, at two o'clock in the afternoon, a supplement to the "Moniteur" spread this intelligence throughout the capital, adding, "In Paris, tranquillity is preserved. The accomplices and instigators of the Lyonese anarchists meditated sinister projects. A great number are arrested. Authority is on the alert, and will put them down with the utmost energy. It is the duty of government to warn the madmen who may be disposed to promote disorder, that considerable forces are ready, and repression will be as prompt as decisive." It was in truth to madmen that power addressed in vain this loyal announcement. Many who until then had confined themselves to hostile menaces, expecting victory at Lyons, yielded at once, on hearing the defeat, to the transports of rage, the desire of vengeance, and the shame of having done nothing themselves for the cause to which their friends had devoted themselves. On this same day, the 13th of April, at five in the evening, the insurrection blazed out in Paris. Numerous barricades were erected in the most populous streets on both banks of the Seine; cries of "Long live the Lyonese! Long live the republic!" were loudly repeated. A young officer of the national guard, M. Baillot, who was carrying an order to the mayoralty of the 12th division, was killed by a shot from a concealed hand; the colonel of the 4th legion, M. Chapuis, and several officers, were struck and severely wounded when approaching the barricades. These

sudden and dark attacks excited passion, from the first moment, in the heart of the struggle. Closely pressed on all sides, the insurgents were soon compelled to concentrate in the same quarter which had been on the 5th and 6th of June, 1832, the theatre of their desperate resistance. Night came on; the leaders of the national guard and the army resolved to wait the return of day to force them from this retreat. Towards midnight, General Bugeaud marched out to take up a position he considered it necessary to occupy. M. Thiers accompanied him, being anxious to reconnoitre in person the full extent of the combat and danger. They traversed the entire line of the houses at the head of a small column, with no other light than that of candles placed in the windows, which fell on the uniforms and arms. A shot fired from the loop-hole of a cellar, killed a captain of their body; another mortally wounded a young auditor of the state council who had brought a message to M. Thiers. As they advanced, fresh victims fell, and the murderers were sought for in vain. Anger inflamed the bosoms of the soldiers. As soon as day appeared, a general attack was directed against the insurgents; they fled into narrow and winding streets, and there, lying in ambuscade behind their barricades, or concealed in the houses, they fired without being seen, and escaped without being seized. In the Rue Transnonain, some soldiers carried away their wounded captain on a hand-barrow. Several shots, proceeding from a house before which they passed, assailed them and killed their officer in their hands. Frantic with rage, they burst open the doors, rushed

through every story, into every room, and a cruel and indistinct massacre blindly revenged this savage assassination. The soldiers belonged to the brigade of General Lascours, one of the most equitable, humane, and liberal officers in the army. He was not on the spot at the moment when this lamentable scene took place, and when called upon to explain it in the Chamber of Peers, in which he sat, he did so with honest firmness, defending, as he was bound to do, the soldiers and the army, without palliating or excusing their transports of passion. During the tide of popular and military effervescence, murder and vengeance flow rapidly on. By seven in the morning, the contest had ceased; a few scattered shots were heard at intervals, fired from a distance by the fugitives, but nothing was seen in the streets except prisoners in charge of their escorts. On the same day, as soon as the Chambers met, Admiral de Rigny in the Peers, and I in the Deputies, announced that in Paris as at Lyons the insurrection was put down. Both Chambers at once suspended their sittings, and repaired in a body to the King, to congratulate him on the defeat of anarchy; for the revolutionary attempt which had just miscarried could not have produced through France any other result, and deserved no better name.

When a government has been compelled to gain victories like these, it becomes its imperious duty to adopt on the instant such measures as may prevent for the future a similar necessity. The first and most urgent step was to expose completely the nature of these deplorable events; their causes and progressive develop-

ment, the characters and views of their authors. It was necessary that, before the whole country, the broad light of day should be thrown on the revolutionary disease, its sources, symptoms, ravages, and effects. It was also essential that the material resources which had assisted these sanguinary disorders should be taken from and interdicted to those who had either used or were disposed to use them for such a culpable purpose. To enlighten minds and direct hands should ever be the earliest care of power, and the first fruits of success. We hastened to satisfy this double necessity. On the following day, a royal decree referred to the Court of Peers the judgment of the general outrage or outrages which had been perpetrated against the safety of the state. This was at once the constitutional jurisdiction and the only tribunal capable of carrying light into the vast chaos of facts and actors, by placing equity ever on a line with law. I shall state hereafter, with what efficacy, in spite of unheard-of obstacles, the Court of Peers acquitted itself of this mission. On the same day, the 15th of April, a bill was presented to the Chamber of Deputies to regulate the conditions under which arms and munitions of war might be held, and the penalties to which those persons would be exposed who neglected to obey them, or employed these offensive resources illegitimately. Complete and strengthened by the two Chambers, this law was immediately promulgated; and on the very day of its promulgation, the 24th of May, 1834, the Chamber of Deputies, which verged on the term of its powers, was dissolved, and the meeting of the electoral colleges decreed.

It became us, after such a struggle, to appeal to the country.

Its judgment was highly favourable to us; the electors sanctioned the policy of resistance and its victory. The opposition lost nearly a third of their strength. The restoration of public confidence, the promptly recurring revival of business, the general satisfaction which manifested itself, confirmed the suffrage of the electoral body, and proved how completely the mass of the population were strangers to the wiles and plots of the conspirators. "I am content," M. de Rémusat wrote to me from Toulouse: "I find the victory at least sufficient. It is not that the internal state of society appears to me re-assuring; but, on this point, I only expect a remedy from time, which will either bring back minds to reason, or produce changes superior to any we can foresee. To look on matters merely as a practical politician, I could not have desired a more complete triumph. Ours may give rise to two tendencies which, in my opinion, we ought equally to repulse. The first, which might lead you into a reaction under pretence of completing your work; the second, which might induce a general dispersion through excess of security. Do not adopt new measures of order unless new events command them; and do not revoke any of the concessions, abused or not, which may have been accorded in matters of public liberty. On these two conditions the double mistakes that I so much dread may be equally avoided."

The cabinet was not inclined to commit either. We had no desire to provoke fresh contests by aggravating

victorious repression; or to restrain legal liberties, the presence of which gave us with the public a great moral force, whose strength had never failed in the days of peril. I replied to M. de Rémusat: "The victory is, in fact, great; but the approaching campaign will be very arduous. The evident disposition here is to a general pause. Every one believes, and will believe himself free to think, speak, and act as he may please: every one will give himself over to the bent of his prejudices and his personal pretensions. They repeat on all sides, with visible complaisance, that the situation is much changed, that things and persons will assume an entirely new phase, that there will be no more question of revolts, of imminent dangers, or of imperious necessities. There is some truth in this, but not so much as is said. Things have not changed; dangers do not thus disappear in the twinkling of an eye. We have made a great step in the road of consolidation and security: but we shall yet totter in it more than once, and more than once we shall have to rally and show front to the enemy. Take it for certain that for a long time to come we shall have enough of peril on our hands to render firmness and discipline indispensable to all these people so eager to reassure and emancipate themselves."

We were on the point of encountering difficulties of a different kind from insurrections and conspiracies, and almost as serious, although less conspicuous. Everything indicated to us that the new Chamber, tranquil as to public order and general policy, would be, on financial questions, exacting and suspicious. An idea gained ground that in the bosom of European peace, and after

the defeat of the factions, the army might be reduced; that it was too expensive; that, in the war department, large savings might be effected, which would lead to the reduction of certain taxes. "The finances," M. de Rémusat also observed in a letter to me, "will occupy more attention than ever; they say currently that henceforward the financial question will comprise our entire policy." We foresaw that, in the approaching session, the third party would seek and find in this question an easy mode of popular attack; the conversation of M. Dupin declared beforehand what would be, when he resumed the presidential arm-chair, his attitude and language in this respect.[1] Marshal Soult, in particular, was the object of complaints and suspicions; he was con-

[1] In the short speech he delivered, according to custom, when taking possession of the chair, on the 9th of August, 1834, he thus expressed himself: "What above all other matters must occupy your minds is our financial condition. Vainly has the Chamber proclaimed, in three successive addresses, 'that it was necessary to labour without rest to place the expenses in equilibrium with the revenue, and to confine the ministers rigidly within the allocations of the budget.' (Addresses of 1832, 1833, and 1834.) The contrary has always happened. The expenses have more and more continued to overbalance the receipts; the limits of the legislative credits have been constantly exceeded. Nevertheless, gentlemen, the Chamber holds the initiative in taxation: it fixes, by its allocations, the amount of charge with which the country is to be burdened. It ought not then to allow the hand to be forced after the blow, by the tardy allegation that it must pay what, in spite of itself, has been once expended.

"If the existing legislation is insufficient to parry this abuse, we must look for a more effectual remedy: but, assuredly, the Chamber ought to direct its most serious attention to this point, on pain of seeing the sovereignty annulled which belongs to it in the matter of subsidies, and of falling in the eyes of the nation from the rank it occupies and ought to maintain in the constitution."

sidered extravagant and disorderly, regardless of the votes of the Chambers, too complaisant with the King; and his administration more active than regular, his taste for innovations often costly and doubtful, his manner of explaining matters and repulsing attacks at once confused and harsh, readily furnished arms against him and chilled many faithful friends of the cabinet. Such, as regarded him, was the state of people's minds, that even out of France observant spectators were struck by it. M. de Barante, in a letter from Turin on the 5th of June, 1834, said:—"The marshal will before long become a great subject of embarrassment: I know, because it is so written to me, and even without these letters, that so much expense is hateful to the country, and cannot long be endured. And yet, can we be satisfied with an administrator for the army? Is not a commander-in-chief indispensable? With foreigners, who know nothing of public sentiment or the force of opinion, the government seems to rely on the marshal. I foresee his fall, and it makes me tremble."

To the embarrassments awaiting us, on his account, Marshal Soult added others, even in the bosom of the cabinet, and in his intercourse, whether with the King, or with his colleagues. No individual has ever presented such a striking example of the diversity of qualities and acts by which power is acquired and exercised in military and civil life. When he had to deal with his companions in arms, generals, officers, or soldiers, Marshal Soult had just and resolute perceptions, powerful instincts, happy words and movements, which gave him a rare authority. General Hulot, whom he had

placed on half-pay, vented his ill-temper to him with a degree of violence which had the air of personal provocation. "Do not entertain such an idea, general," said the marshal, in reply; "you forget that for the last forty years I only fight with cannon-balls." One day, while we were in council at the War-office, he ordered Colonel Simon Lorière to be summoned, that he might send him on a mission to Nantes. Having received his instructions, with an order to set out immediately, the colonel retired; but he had scarcely left the room, when he suddenly returned, saying, "Marshal, where shall I find a carriage?"—"Do you take me for a coachmaker?" retorted the marshal, brusquely closing the door upon him. This mixture of hauteur and roughness, this coarse wit, was familiar to the Duke of Dalmatia in the army, and was always successful. But when he had to deal with politicians, very different from himself in origin, ideas, and habits, and with independent associates, this great military chief lost much of his peculiar qualities and advantages. He was deficient in tact, he misjudged situations and characters, and displayed more meddling activity and restless cunning than prompt and acute sagacity. He was suspicious, susceptible, and surly, and seemed desirous of revenging himself by being troublesome, for the influence he could not obtain. Here he succeeded too well; we all endured impatiently his exactions, his vacillations, and the inequalities of his temper. It was extremely burdensome to have to answer before the Chambers for a confused administration, which defended itself weakly. The King himself, who still held to Marshal Soult, "for I

want," said he, "a great sword," complained of his caprices, and grew weary of continual reconciliations.

A question which then began to present itself in its full importance, the question of Algeria, furnished an occasion for the open demonstration of this misunderstanding in the interior of the cabinet, which until now had been restrained. The affairs of France herself, since 1830, had been so serious and pressing, that the government had only been able to bestow on those of Algeria a portion of the care and strength which the necessity required. Fully resolved, both by honour and instinct, not to abandon what the Restoration had conquered, it had maintained at Algiers the troops indispensable to resist the efforts for our expulsion continually attempted by the Turks and Arabs. Four military commandants, General Clauzel, General Berthezène, the Duke of Rovigo, and General Voirol, had succeeded each other there with different arrangements, and constant alternations of success and reverse. By the single fact of our presence, and by the necessities or excitement of the war, our dominion had extended itself to all the principal points of the old regency. We had assumed the attitude and commenced the works of conquerors of the country; but our possession was extremely limited, precarious, rudely disputed, and equally unsettled as to its extent or the system of permanent administration suitable for adoption. The progressive increase of expenditure, and the continued doubt as to our plan of conduct, excited anxious solicitude. In 1833, a commission, composed of distinguished members, naval and military, selected from the

two Chambers, was instructed to visit Algiers, and study on the spot what was doing there, what might be done, the expectations that were formed, and the best methods of realizing them. On their return, another important commission, presided over by the Duke Decazes, collected all the facts, discussed and explained them in a long published report; and at the end of April, 1834, a grand debate, originating in the Chamber of Deputies, on the occasion of the war budget, seriously occupied both houses of legislature, on the subject of the retention and mode of government of Algiers, and led to one of the heaviest embarrassments of the cabinet. Two ideas presented themselves in this debate: one, that Algeria was a burden on France which it would be wise to get rid of, and which at least it was necessary to lighten as much as possible, while waiting what experience would evidently suggest, and the enlightened feeling of the country might consider most advisable; the other, that the exclusively military government of Algeria was the most compromising of all, the most infected with abuses it was impossible to forestall, and that immediate measures should be adopted to substitute a civil chief for the generals, and a legislator to supersede the conquerors. M. Dupin and M. Passy, in particular, ably developed these ideas, and their arguments, their criticisms on the past, their anticipations of the future, their disquietude, manifested with an honourable independence of popular prejudices, left a deep impression on the minds of many reflecting members in the different benches of the Chamber.

Nearly all that M. Dupin and M. Passy stated was

true; but they forgot other truths even superior to those with which they appeared so strongly imbued. With nations as with individuals, greatness has its consequences and conditions, from which they cannot withdraw themselves without decline, and Providence assigns to them, in its superintendence of human affairs, a part which they are bound to fill. It is not that the bold enterprises and resolute perseverances of which occasions offer in the lives of nations are all equally prescribed to them; there are many both unlawful and irrational, which they may shun without diminution of honour. What are those which assume the highest and most imperious character? This is a question of political intelligence, and if I may be allowed the expression, of man's intuition into divine order. The retention of Algeria was, I feel convinced, after 1830, a necessity of this kind; it involved a case of personal greatness for France, and a duty towards the future of the Christian world. We should have been more weakened and bent by rejecting the burden than by continuing to bear it.

The retention of Algeria once determined on, the maintenance of a military supremacy there in 1834 was an equal necessity, not only for the security of our conquest, but for its interior administration. The worst of all evils in a newly born and still disturbed state, is doubt and discord in the bosom of authority. To subdue and govern the Arabs was our first business in Africa, much more urgent and incessant than the care of legislating for a few scattered colonists. For this end, unity, promptitude, and military discipline were indispensable. Serious abuses tainted this system, and

however sedulously the central power might labour to restrain them, it could not expect their total suppression; but the opposition and mutual enfeeblement of two incompatible agencies would have been even more pernicious. It is the duty of all governments to admit, without ceasing to resist them, the inconveniencies of a necessary choice between two opposing systems. It was also to be expected that many of our officers well suited by their animated, firm, and sympathetic intelligence, to the government of Arabs, would speedily adapt themselves to this new mission. Already, in 1832, Captain Lamoricière, the first head of the first Arabian bureau organized by General Trézel, and at that time chief of the staff of the army of Africa, supplied a good example and a happy augury. It is well known, that in spite of some lamentable exceptions, this institution accomplished more than was expected.

Being called upon to decide the two questions thus laid down in regard to Algeria, we never hesitated for a moment as to continuing our establishment in that country. Marshal Soult declared, in the name of the council, that France would at all hazards retain her conquest. On the mode of governing the province we were less clear-sighted and decided. The abuses of the military system had made much noise; the Chamber of Deputies, vexed and unresolved, had reduced the funds required for colonization; a civil form of legislation, it was hoped, would produce less violence in Africa, and be more favourably received in France. The Duke Decazes had recently presided with much activity and practical intelligence over the grand commission,

whose report had brought the facts to light and clearly exposed the questions. At a meeting of the cabinet, his name was proposed for the government of Algeria, which we said it was now time to change to civil, to redress the complaints excited by the military system, and to remove the obstacles to which these same complaints had given rise in the Chambers. Marshal Soult abruptly rejected this idea as an offensive personality, and maintained the absolute necessity of a military governor. The discussion became warm, and was renewed at several successive sittings. The marshal, more obstinate than skilful in defending his opinion, declared, while losing his temper, that he would retire from the cabinet rather than yield this point. The minister of Marine, Admiral Jacob, exclaimed with agitated surprise, "But, marshal, your retirement would dissolve the cabinet; if you were dead, indeed, we might get on without you!" At this the marshal's ill-humour redoubled. M. Thiers and I, and nearly all our colleagues with us, were little disturbed by this menace; the occasion seemed favourable for ridding ourselves of a president who had become more troublesome than useful, and whom we endured as impatiently in the cabinet, as in the Chambers we found it difficult to support him. We persisted in demanding a civil governor for Algeria, which the marshal as obstinately resisted. The session approached; it was impossible for the cabinet to meet it in this state of inert discord: we resolved to bring it to an end. The King made many objections to our first overtures. "Take care," said he, "Marshal Soult is an important personage; I

know as well as you his objectionable points, and it is something to be aware of them; with his successor, if he accepts office (the question related to Marshal Gérard) your embarrassments, will be different but perhaps even more serious; you will lose by the change." We had determined to persist. The King left Paris on the eighth of July, for the Château d'Eu; I accompanied him, being commissioned by my colleagues to persuade him to the measure, while M. Thiers, more closely connected than any of us with Marshal Gérard, should induce the latter to fill the expected vacancy. I had scarcely arrived at the Chateau d'Eu, when I received this letter from M. Thiers: "I have held a long conversation, and this is the result: there is no longer any dread, as there was two months since, of the weight of business; the tribune is the source of fear; this is evidently the apprehension of a man who thinks he is going to execute himself. I said distinctly, that I spoke in accord with you and Rigny, that we intended to take a formal step on the first opportunity, and I was answered: 'But take care; see that you thoroughly understand each other; I am afraid of the burden.' In fact, I have obtained neither yes nor no, and my conviction is that the party would yield to the first regular attack by the King. Let the King thoroughly understand the necessity of extricating us from a terrible mess, in which we lose something every day." The day following, M. Thiers was less confident. "My guest of yesterday has returned; his wife, alarmed for his health, works incessantly to snatch him from us. He retires out of sight, and I

see no longer the means of building on a ground that gives way indefinitely. Be, therefore, less urgent with the King; it might mislead him by a deceitful hope. I thought, with our friends, of the illustrious personage in London, when a telegraphic message from Calais to-day announced the retirement of Lord Grey. Here is a new horizon. It may probably furnish an occasion to act, and more likely one to do nothing. We must see, and think of demanding a concession from the old marshal." On the day after, Marshal Gérard appeared more amenable. "It is thought," wrote M. Thiers, "that the impossibility of getting M. de Talleyrand, who is at present indispensable in London, may act upon my guest, who always retreats on the chance of obtaining some one else. All our colleagues, Rigny, Duchâtel, and Persil, are unanimous on the impossibility of going on much longer as we are."

The more the uncertainty continued, the more the difficulty of the *statu quo* increased. The King felt it, and while still repeating his objections and prognostics, determined to press himself the acceptance of Marshal Gérard. The distribution of prizes at the close of the exhibition of the produce of manufactures recalled him to Paris; we quitted the Chateau d'Eu on the 13th of July, and on the 18th the *Moniteur* announced that the resignation of Marshal Soult was accepted, and that Marshal Gérard was appointed minister of War and president of the Council.

I relate this ministerial crisis in some detail to re-establish its true character. Spectators, when such incidents occur, are disposed to seek for hidden motives,

remote views, or profound intrigues, and to attribute the perplexities of the drama to the passions or personal interests of the actors. They thus gratify themselves by displaying, under the mantle of history, plots and scenes of tragedy and comedy learnedly invented Several writers, on the occasion of the fact I have here related, have fallen into this imaginary and credulous sagacity. They saw, in the retirement of Marshal Soult in 1834, the winding up of a long struggle between the men of the sword and the men of speech, the symptom of a flagrant rivalry between M. Thiers and myself, the smothered working of impatient ambitions, still, however, constrained to march to their end by indirect ways. I know the complication of moving powers which decides the conduct of men, and how many conflicting sentiments, secret desires, and flattering aspirations rise within their hearts as events unfold themselves, and gradually disclose the perspectives of the future. But under a system of liberty and publicity, these concealed and purely personal incentives are far from playing, in the march of affairs, the important part attributed to them; and when men of well-regulated, rational minds, are engaged in the government of their country, whatever may be their temptations and weaknesses, they are permanently influenced in their actions by public motives and exigencies. It is quite possible that with the retirement of Marshal Soult some of the interests may have been mixed up by which it has been attempted to be explained; it may be that he had no great love for the orators and doctrinarians, and that they in turn desired a leader more sympathetic and

dependable for their cause and ideas. It may be that M. Thiers preferred, as president of the Council, Marshal Gérard, whose political bias approached his own, and over whom he might promise himself a particular influence; but none of these motives had much to do with the removal of Marshal Soult, which measure was determined by the purely political causes I have just explained. It was an error, and a double error on our part. We were wrong in 1834, in insisting on a civil governor for Algeria; that day was far from having arrived. We were wrong in seizing that opportunity of breaking with Marshal Soult, and of driving him from the cabinet; he caused us parliamentary embarrassments and personal annoyances, but he never opposed, and often essentially served our general policy. It was for us to give the Chambers the counsel and example of supporting it, and if it was destined to fall, it was better that it should fall before a public check than by an internal movement. The retirement of the Duke de Broglie had already weakened the cabinet; that of the Duke of Dalmatia aggravated the evil, and we soon discovered that the door by which he went out remained an open breach for the enemy we contended with.

As soon as the session opened, the address proposed in the new Chamber of Duputies revealed the danger. This was the work and manœuvre of the third party, to whom the accession of Marshal Gérard imparted hope and confidence. The work was equivocal and the manœuvre cunning, according to the character and practice of their authors. The cabinet and the policy

of resistance were not attacked in the address, but still less were they supported; congratulations were lavished on the victories that had restored order, but care was taken not to side with the victors, and to leave glimpses of a desire for another standard. Men are much more anxious to deliver themselves from their fears than from their dangers: the third party wished to believe and persuade others that the struggle was definitively closed, and that nothing remained to speak of but conciliation and peace. These weaknesses of mind and heart were precisely what we had the most occasion to dread, for they enervated and paralyzed us in presence of energetic foes, who thought of nothing less than laying down their arms. When the address was in debate, some of our friends, amongst others General Bugeaud and M. Janvier, called for the abandonment of equivocation, and asked the Chamber to pronounce frankly for or against the well-known policy of the cabinet. Beyond the Chamber our firmest ally in the press, the *Journal des Débats*, urged us to provoke this decisive trial. I demanded explanations of the paragraph in the address, which implied malevolent insinuations against the cabinet. M. Etienne, who had drawn it up, denied these, but obscurely, and in such a manner as to give my insisting, if I had prolonged it, the air of futile and aggressive obstinacy. The opposition almost unanimously voted the address, declaring with irony that it rejected the commentaries; and the cabinet lost strength in this debate, which it would have been wise to have transferred into a serious combat; for no sooner had the

address passed, than not only the opposition, but the very men who had protested against all hostile intention, proclaimed it a heavy check to the cabinet; a check which proved its diminished credit with the Chamber, and threatened to remove it from power.

Eluded in the Chambers, the question was soon specifically brought forward in the interior of the cabinet. Since the defeat of the insurrections of Paris and Lyons, and the victory of the elections, a general amnesty was talked of. Marshal Gérard on entering the ministry had not made this a condition of his adherence, but it was his desire and hope. This brave man, so resolute in fields of battle, was singularly timid and wavering in the arena of politics, particularly when he had to maintain struggles which interfered with his friendships and habits. Ever ready to risk his life, he could not bear anything that deranged it. Sincerely attached to the new monarchy, he was far from becoming the patron of its republican enemies; but the friends of the republicans, their old associates, their apologists more or less declared, surrounded and besieged him with their councils, their anxieties, and their wishes. They represented to him the trials impending before the Court of Peers against the vanquished insurgents as an impossible enterprise, which would bring on deplorable scenes, fresh acts of violence, and a fatal denouement. The prospect of this trial weighed upon the spirit of the marshal as a nightmare, from which the amnesty alone could deliver him. Nothing is more seductive than generosity coming in aid of and serving as a veil to weakness. Great civil discords can only be terminated

by amnesties, provided always that the amnesty arrives at the moment when the discords are about to close and really seal their end. We were very far from that issue; the beaten conspirators not only still cherished their designs and hopes, but they pursued and proclaimed them with the most stubborn audacity, as arrogant and menacing in the cells of their prisons as in their journals, and loudly rejecting the amnesty which in their hearts they longed for, as a deliverance for themselves, and still more as a striking demonstration of the weakness and fear of the government they sought to overthrow. In the cabinet, M. Thiers and I had a profound sentiment of this position, and we looked upon the amnesty substituted for the prosecution as an act of senseless and improvident cowardice, which would redouble ardour and confidence with the enemies of established order, while it would petrify both with its defenders. The King adopted our conviction. We peremptorily refused this measure, when Marshal Gérard formally demanded it, and he retired from the cabinet on the 29th of October, 1834, more pleased, I believe, in being liberated from the responsibility which would have accompanied the success of his proposal, than vexed at not having succeeded in obtaining its adoption.

There is no greater anger than that which springs from a great mistake. In the different sections of the opposition, hopes were extremely varied: the resignation of Marshal Gérard deceived them all, as well those who promised themselves the dislocation of the cabinet, as the party who desired the overthrow of the monarchy. Self-love was as much wounded as ardent conviction

was enraged, and the third party exhibited as much temper as the republicans displayed violence. It was evident that the position of the cabinet was about to become at the same time aggravated and enfeebled. After some attempts to find a new president, M. Thiers came to me one morning, when we both agreed that the best course for us to adopt was to retire, as Marshal Gérard had done, and to leave the field open to the third party. If they could form a ministry, and carry on their policy, this would prove that ours was out of season for the moment, and that our retreat was necessary; if they failed, we should gather fresh strength from the demonstrated impotence of our adversaries. M. Duchâtel, Admiral Rigny, and M. Humann, were fully of this opinion; M. Persil and Admiral Jacob alone rejected it. We proceeded to the King to tender our five resignations. He was surprised and uneasy, but not to any great extent: our conduct and his reasons required no strong arguments to be mutually understood. It has been said, that all this was a concerted game between the King and us. Here is again an instance of that pretended sagacity which believes itself profound, when it can imagine ingeniously plotted intrigues, and substitutes little arranged dreams in place of truth. There is not so much premeditation in common affairs, and their course is more natural than the ignorant crowd believes. The King saw the position as we did, and at once made up his mind to encounter the chances with us: he sent for Count Molé, and ordered him to reconstruct the Cabinet.

M. Molé was at once well adapted to and much em-

barrassed in undertaking this mission. He had not on any question any engagement whatever, either for or against any individual person. He could treat with the third party, and secure their alliance by certain concessions. But he had too much spirit and intelligence not to be desirous of maintaining the policy of resistance, and not to see the conditions on which it could be carried on. Instead of trying to form a cabinet entirely new, he endeavoured to re-constitute, with some modifications, that which had just dissolved itself, and the principal elements of which he considered indispensable. Finding us resolved not to separate, he at once renounced the attempt, and the King, through the strange intervention of M. Persil, who still held the chancellorship, then requested the very leaders of the third party to form an administration.

But the principal person amongst them, M. Dupin, had too much intelligence, and bestowed too much care on his personal position, to engage in combinations evidently hazardous and weak. He refused for himself, and offered his brother as a pledge of his support. Two men of merit, M. Passy and General Bernard, consented to serve under his flag. Two absentees, Messrs. Bresson and Sauzet, were fixed on for their colleagues. A veteran of the Empire, the Duke of Bassano, assumed with confidence the helm of this barque, so lightly manned. It is related that he said when accepting it, "This ministry will restore the Revolution of July," —a very thoughtless speech from the mouth of an old servant of power, and who was as vain as he was thoughtless. At the end of three days, without any

event, obstacle, or debate to lead to such a necessity, weary of the burden they had not yet borne, disliking their position with the King and the Chambers, and a little apprehensive of public ridicule, the new ministers tendered their resignation. The King then called us back, desiring us, not without a smile, to resume office; and, ten days after its retirement, the old cabinet returned to their seats, with Admiral Duperré as minister of Marine, and Marshal Mortier as minister of War and president of the Council.

But here was one of the victories that envenom the contest, without strengthening the conquerors. From this fugitive apparition of the third party in the government, there remained behind wounded self-loves, excited pretensions, hasty engagements, men compromised towards each other beyond their real feelings, and on the part of several sections of the opposition an increase of ill humour and vehemence against the ministry, fomented by the disgust arising from their own incapability of forming a cabinet. What they then attempted was, to attack us by evading ministerial questions, and to weaken us without overthrow. We were not disposed to accept that position: after these brisk movements of retreat and return, we felt it necessary to put an end to the parliamentary obscurities which had led to them, and to call on the Chamber of Deputies to declare positively for or against the policy we had hitherto exercised and intended to continue. In December, 1834, as soon as the session opened, we ourselves provoked two leading debates on this question: one on the demand for an explanation of the late

ministerial crisis; the other on the credit required by the minister of the Interior to build a hall at the Luxembourg, in which the Court of Peers might hold their sessions during the great trial in which it had to pronounce judgment. The general question of the policy of resistance occupied part of these debates; the amnesty and the position of the moment were the object of the second. In the first, M. Dupin and M. Sauzet, the one with his brusque address, the other with his flowing and ingenious eloquence, endeavoured to dissuade the Chamber from deciding as we proposed. According to them it ought not to pledge itself to any system of policy; it was the critic and judge, not the associate of power; they endeavoured to stimulate its independence, and to unsettle its prudence. The second debate was merely a cold repetition of what had already been said for or against the amnesty. The Chamber neither suffered itself to be seduced by the cajoling arguments addressed to it from the tribune, nor intimidated by the insults and threats which assailed it from without. The spirit of government, and intelligence of the conditions of free legislation, penetrated the majority; it declared itself satisfied with the explanations of the cabinet on the maintenance of the policy of resistance, and voted the funds required to construct the hall of trial for the Court of Peers. We came forth victorious from the two combats in which we had engaged.

During this time, the Court of Peers pursued, without regard to external clamour, the great prosecution, which the revolt of April at Lyons, Paris,

St. Etienne, Luneville, etc., had brought before it. During long civil discords, a moment arrives when they are on the decline, and always ready to recommence; a calmer day rises in the horizon, and yet the tempest still batters and excites the waves. Two duties, alike imperative and difficult, then press upon the government. Policy ought not to alter justice, and justice should resume its empire in policy. The tribunals are called upon not to permit political passions to influence their decrees, and not to suffer law to become negative in the presence of political excitement. Society equally demands that revolutionary attempts should be effectually punished, and that the penalties should be confined within the measure of strict and just necessity. It is as important that the fear of the laws should resume its control as that their interpreters should be calm and independent in applying them. The Court of Peers comprehended and admirably fulfilled this double mission. Since the commencement of the prosecution, in the midst of the extravagances of the accused and of the journals of their party, it sought anxiously to ascertain and bring to light the general character and chief authors of the vast conspiracy on which it had to pronounce judgment, while leaving in the shade all secondary facts and agencies. According to the labours of M. Girod de l'Ain, in his commission of inquiry and report, charges were established against four hundred and forty individuals. The attorney-general, M. Martin du Nord, in his bill of indictment reduced this number to three hundred and eighteen. The court, after long deliberation, ad-

mitted only one hundred and sixty-five, of which forty-three refused to appear. Whoever might to-day take the trouble of examining this enormous process in detail, would discover that it was impossible to combine more imperturbable firmness and intelligent equity, in the defence of public order and the application of the laws.

The crisis seemed at its term; the policy of resistance had triumphed over the internal embarrassments of the cabinet, and the open or indirect hostility of the Chambers. We had sustained it resolutely. M. Thiers, in this struggle, had been thoroughly committed with myself. We remained scrupulously faithful to our cause and alliance. On every question in the order of the day we were perfectly agreed. Marshal Mortier filled with loyal modesty the post he had accepted from devotedness. If we could trust appearances, the cabinet was no longer threatened either from within or without. Still it was tottering and precarious; minds were yet impressed with its recent vicissitudes. Whatever has been roughly shaken seems for a considerable time to be on the point of falling. In passing, within six months, from Marshal Soult to Marshal Gérard, and from Marshal Gérard to Marshal Mortier, the presidency of the Council had been taken more and more for a fiction, and the more the fiction became apparent the more the opposition found in it a weapon, and our friends an embarrassment. Practically this question had less importance than was attributed to it. Even if we had had the most effective and interfering president of the Council, our policy and acts could not have differed from what they were. We were perfectly

decided, united, and strong enough to carry out our ideas as well at the Tuileries as in the Chambers. The King often said to M. Thiers and me, "What need have you of a president of the Council? Are you not of one mind together? Am I not in accord with you? You have a majority in the Chambers; you carry on your plans there as you wish, and I am quite satisfied with them. Why do you trouble yourselves about anything else?" The King was not sufficiently impressed with the natural consequences of the representative system, and the feelings it provokes in the actors who fill the parts, and the public who are spectators. As under this system, political interests and opinions resume their sway with the parties who express or maintain them, in like manner the parties are desirous of reinstating themselves with the chiefs by whom they are represented or directed. Bodies instinctively endeavour to produce their head; a natural requirement of self-love and confidence. When this necessity is not satisfied, they feel themselves incomplete and insecure. The party of the policy of resistance had in M. Casimir Périer a chief who represented it worthily, and served it effectually. We aspired to find him again. A nominal president was not enough for that object, and when, in seeking for a real one, attention turned towards M. Thiers and myself, we divided, instead of combining ideas and hopes. Thus, although the constitutional machine moved on regularly, and sufficed for its daily task, it seemed to want unity and a future. A blank was felt in it, and internal commotion apprehended.

Various incidents intervened to aggravate, either as

regarded the cabinet in general or myself in particular the embarrassments and weak points of this situation.

In November, 1834, at the moment when the third party appeared and disappeared in a few days, M. de Talleyrand, at that time on leave of absence at his château of Valençay, forwarded to the King his resignation of the English embassy. It was accepted and announced in the *Moniteur* on the 8th of January following; but when the letter containing it appeared, the retirement had taken place for three months. M. de Talleyrand had not adopted the step without hesitation. He liked his duties and position in London; but, although his mind still continued remarkably clear and firm, he felt the enfeeblement of age and readily yielded to fatigue. The fluctuations of policy in France; our repeated ministerial crises; the tottering aspect of power, even though triumphant; the clouds which overshadowed the future; the doubts of the European governments; all these points in the state of our affairs deeply affected his confidence in his post and his taste for the mission. In England, although he was always on the best terms with Lord Grey, his relations with Lord Palmerston were less confidential and agreeable. At the moment when he decided on his retirement, the Whig cabinet fell; the Tories, with the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel at their head, were summoned to office. The Duke of Wellington immediately wrote to M. de Talleyrand, strongly pressing him to remain as ambassador in London. M. de Talleyrand persisted in his resolution. On leaving the embassy, he explained, in his letter to the King, with rare firm-

ness of thought and language, why he had accepted it in 1830; what he had done for the interest of France and for her monarch; and how, no longer considering himself as useful as he had formerly been, he now asked permission to retire. But explanations do not change the aspect and consequences of actions. Even with those who were far from regretting it, the retirement of M. de Talleyrand was considered, particularly out of doors, as an unfavourable symptom of the state of our government. General Sébastiani, who succeeded him in the embassy at London, had more real capacity than European reputation. As regards French policy, the change sensibly diminished good appearance and outward authority.

A few months before M. de Talleyrand retired from public life, another remarkable individual, very different, and celebrated on very opposite grounds, M. de La Fayette, disappeared from the stage of the world. No life had ever been more passionately political than his; no man had ever placed his ideas and political sentiments more constantly above all other prepossessions or interests. But politics were utterly unconnected with his death. Ill for three weeks, he approached his last hour. His children and household surrounded his bed; he ceased to speak, and it was doubtful whether he could still see. His son George observed that with uncertain gesture he sought for something in his bosom. He came to his father's assistance, and placed in his hand a medallion which he always wore suspended round his neck. M. de La Fayette raised it to his lips; this was his last motion. That medallion con-

tained a miniature and a lock of hair of Madame de La Fayette, his wife, whose loss he had mourned for twenty-seven years. Thus, already separated from the entire world, alone with the thought and image of the devoted companion of his life,—he died. In arranging his funeral, it was a recognized fact in the family that M. de La Fayette had always wished to be buried in the small cemetery adjoining the convent of Picpus, by the side of his wife, in the midst of victims of the Revolution, the greater part royalists and aristocrats, whose ancestors had founded that pious establishment. The desire of the veteran of 1789 was scrupulously respected and complied with. An immense crowd—soldiers, national guards, and populace, accompanied the funeral procession along the boulevards and streets of Paris. Arrived at the gate of the convent of Picpus, the crowd halted; the interior enclosure could only admit two or three hundred persons. The family, the nearest relatives, and the principal authorities entered, passed through the convent in silence, then across the garden, and finally entered the cemetery. There, no political manifestation took place; no oration was pronounced; religion and the intimate reminiscences of the soul alone were present; public politics assumed no place near the death-bed or the grave of the man whose life they had occupied and ruled.

About the same time an incident, entirely personal, gave me the deepest pain. M. Royer-Collard, with whom, since 1830, I had lived on tems of the closest intimacy, wished and demanded for one of his relations a considerable advance in the higher department of

administration. I spoke of it repeatedly to my colleagues, who seemed to consider such a favour impossible. After several applications, I relaxed my urgency. I proposed to M. Royer-Collard compensations, which were unsatisfactory. Much as he disregarded power, he held strongly to influence. When once he expressed a desire, or undertook to serve a cause, success became with him a passionate necessity, and disappointment almost appeared like an offence. It is, besides, a difficult trial for men, and even the best men, to see increase without their co-operation, and in total independence, the reputations and fortunes they have beheld the birth of and have long supported. I soon discovered that M. Royer-Collard was deeply wounded by his check. We happened to be dining in the same company; I cannot recollect what circumstance brought to his lips the words of Bossuet, in his funeral oration on the Princess Palatine, on the "illusion of worldly friendships, which pass away with years and interests:" he uttered them with an accent full of bitterness, while steadily regarding me. The injustice was great: but passion never believes that it is unjust. A few days after, M. Royer-Collard signified to me formally, in a few cutting and painful lines, his wish to break off our old ties of intimacy. I was more grieved than surprised at this: I was well acquainted with that ardently susceptible nature, in which neither the power of intellect nor the gravity of character, could overcome the strong predominance of impressions. I felt that I had done him no wrong, and I trusted to time to restore the empire of equity. I did not deceive myself. Truth

and friendship re-entered the soul of M. Royer-Collard before his death stepped in to separate us: but during several years, this rupture with an old and illustrious friend inflicted suffering on my heart, and sometimes weariness on my position.

Notwithstanding our successes with the Chambers, we did not feel ourselves secure in the future; and, despite his modesty, Marshal Mortier suffered under his political insignificance, which became daily more visible and more subject to the comments of the opposition. On every occasion that renewed this feeling, he timidly expressed his honest displeasure. Some disorders had been committed in the Polytechnic School, which required coercive measures. The marshal called upon me, and asked me to take this great seminary into my department, as he no longer wished to retain the responsibility. Plausible reasons were not wanting for this change of functions. The Polytechnic School is not exclusively military; elevated instruction is general, and its pupils are trained for important civil offices as well as for the scientific corps of the army. The advantage of strengthening literary and historical studies there, was admitted, to give more variety, flexibility, and expansion to minds. Nevertheless, I expressly declined the marshal's proposal. In the midst of our relaxed authority and manners, discipline in that celebrated establishment is a necessary condition of order and success. To that rigid system it principally owes the originality and permanence of its character; and what it might gain from the liberty of our schools, purely civil, would scarcely compensate for what it would en-

counter a great risk of losing. The Duke of Treviso reluctantly abandoned a proposition which would, in one point at least, have released him from a responsibility that disturbed his repose. He was unable to bear the weight much longer; and on the 20th of February, 1835, alleging for reason the state of his health, he tendered his resignation to the King, in terms so decided, that neither his Majesty, nor any of us, his colleagues, could expect him to recall it. Thus the cabinet again saw itself condemned to seek for a president.

I at once resolved to allow no longer a fiction in this post, nor any vain though brilliant appearance, and to exert all my efforts to place the Duke de Broglie there, the only man at that time amongst the supporters of the policy of liberal resistance whose elevation could wound no self-respect; the only person also whom the Chambers and the public would be disposed to regard as a real head of the cabinet, and from whom might be expected a respectful firmness with the crown and an amicable dignity with his colleagues. I was ignorant of the obstacles I might encounter in this attempt, but I reckoned on surmounting them by tranquil perseverance and the empire of necessity.

The first of these obstacles was the King himself, or rather what was said of his disposition than what the fact established. King Louis-Philippe was never deaf to reason, nor blind to the necessities of his position; but it is certain that he had conceived for the Duke de Broglie, as minister of Foreign Affairs, more esteem and confidence than personal regard. I have seldom met two

men more different, though animated by the same object, and labouring in the same work by opposite plans. On some particular bill which I cannot recollect, a debate arose one day in the Council on the sense and bearing of the word *rights*. The Duke de Broglie advocated natural rights; King Louis-Philippe acknowledged none but legal rights. They might have argued indefinitely without ever coming to an understanding; so opposite were their points of departure and the turn of their minds. It is not that the Duke de Broglie is either an obstinate theorist, or a disputatious temper. He comprehends to a point the practical exigencies of human dealings, and can adapt himself to them with extended and provident moderation; but he occupies himself too much with the general ideas applicable to the affairs of which he treats, and too little with the persons he has to act with. He carries into the examination of question, and the means of solving them, more skilful invention, and management than in his relations with men; and while strenuously applying himself to give to different interests the satisfactions they demand, he takes little trouble to please the various actors and to secure their ready adherence or concurrence. King Louis-Philippe, on the contrary, powerfully prepossessed with the difficulties or embarrassments of the moment, and ever anxious to escape from them, attached great importance to the daily impressions of the European diplomatists, and felt uneasy at the ill humour which the pride or distant foresight of the Duke de Broglie might impart to them. Hence arose principally his disinclination to replace him, with the presidency of the

Council in the direction of Foreign Affairs, although he fully confided in the accordance of the general intentions and conduct of the duke with his own policy of peace and order in Europe.

One circumstance in particular had recently aggravated his feeling on this point. Towards the end of 1833, M. de Talleyrand, then on leave in Paris, told the King that the English Cabinet, much occupied with the affairs of the East and of Spain, was disposed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the French government. The King, ardently convinced that the English alliance was the pledge of European peace, instantly adopted the idea, vehemently urged it on the Duke de Broglie, pressed him to discuss it thoroughly with M. de Talleyrand, and to follow up its execution. Several conversations, sometimes of two and at others of three, took place on this subject between the King, his minister, and his ambassador. The Duke de Broglie was little disposed to believe either in the utility or success of such a combination. According to his idea, important as it was to live on excellent terms with England, and to have a perfect understanding with her at all times on the great affairs of Europe, it was equally dangerous to ally ourselves to that power by a general and permanent tie, which might cost France the independence she required for her own policy, without giving her, against the various chances of the European future, the security expected and promised. He also doubted much whether the English cabinet was seriously disposed to contract the general alliance spoken of. He saw, in all that M. de

Talleyrand reported, momentary impressions and mere freedom of conversation, rather than real intentions and serious overtures. What confirmed him in his doubt was, that M. de Talleyrand, while aggrandizing the dispositions of the English cabinet, seemed indisposed of himself to open a positive negotiation on this subject, and required the Duke de Broglie to profit by his personal intimacy with the English ambassador in Paris, Lord Granville, to enter on and bring the affair to the desired end. The Duke de Broglie formally declined this mode of proceeding, which would have transferred to his direct responsibility, a proposition the merit and success of which appeared to him equally questionable; but still persisting in his doubt, he instructed M. de Talleyrand, who was on the point of returning to London, to sound attentively the dispositions of the English cabinet, and to assure himself that they were really serious. There would thus have been an opportunity of considering to what point it would suit Fance to advance in that road; and as to the Duke de Broglie himself, without entering into any engagement, he did not officially reject the suggested combination, if it proved to be serious and well-guaranteed. On these terms M. de Talleyrand departed, arrived at Calais, and before embarking wrote to the Duke de Broglie to ask, on this prospect of an offensive and defensive alliance with England, for precise instructions. The Duke de Broglie hastened to reply that he had no other instructions to give him beyond what he had already said on the subject; and he sent him also a complete recapitulation of the conversations they

had held, either together or with the King, replacing thus before the eyes of the ambassador the objections with the doubts of the minister, and giving him full liberty to sound the chances of the proposition in London, without adding anything that implicated the future. M. de Talleyrand received this letter and kept it to himself; he neither raised the question nor took any new step in London, and the matter terminated there, confined to the vague ideas and empty conversations I have now referred to.

To-day, after the lapse of twenty-five years, I believe that the Duke de Broglie was right. No one attaches more value to a good understanding between France and England than I do; no one honours more sincerely the English nation, or is more convinced that peace between the two states, and cordiality between the two governments are, for us, the true policy; our internal prosperity and influence in the world are equally interested in preserving both. Every important rupture, every war with England, even though it might be acceptable to national passions, and attended at first with brilliant success, would become sooner or later a source of weakness to us, and would throw us out of the paths of great and true civilization. But that the good understanding between the two nations and governments may be efficacious and enduring, it should remain free; for neither the one nor the other should it become a chain, or establish any permanent fetter to the development of the natural distinctions of their position, character, and interests. They can and ought to unite often under particular circumstances, to obtain specific results; but

all general assimilation in their policy, all binding and indefinite union, far from assuring mutual peace would lead to complications and quarrels. This was what the Duke de Broglie foresaw and wished to avoid, when he rejected the idea of a general offensive and defensive alliance. But King Louis-Philippe, too much governed by the desires or impressions of the moment, retained a baneful recollection of the opposition of his minister on this occasion; and M. de Talleyrand, who had only found in his proposition, a mistake, in place of the personal success he had promised himself, remained equally dissatisfied with the Duke de Broglie, and more disposed to remove him from the ministry of Foreign Affairs than to recall him to it.

After the retirement of Marshal Mortier, and in the failure of our first attempts to find a successor for him, we had all tendered to the King our resignations, and thus he had to seek, not only a president of the Council, but a new cabinet. He summoned Marshal Soult from Saint-Armand, General Sébastiani from London, called for M. Dupin and Marshal Gérard, and attempted various combinations. None could be brought to bear. At one time the future premier declined the honour, not wishing to incur the chance of an overthrow; at another, after accepting office, he could find no colleagues, or none but such as were urged to divide the honour with him. Marshal Soult, who desired nothing better than to succeed, knocked at several doors, saying everywhere, "The doctrinarians have managed so well, that I am the only person possible;" and he found nothing possible. More judicious and more divested of all per-

sonal prejudice, for he was satisfied with his post in London, General Sébastiani said, "This is a pity; the doctrinarians have talent and courage, but they do not choose to let the King profit by them." I went one morning to see him; he spoke only of England, and of his intention of returning there immediately; however he felt grieved to see and leave the King in embarrassment. "He only wishes to form, and he is right," added he, "a strong and lasting combination." On quitting him I went to the Tuileries; I had not seen the King for several days, wishing neither to constrain him in his search after new ministers, nor to mix myself up with it; "Sébastiani is arrived," he said on seeing me. "I have seen him, Sire."—"And what did he say to you?"—"That he had only come for a few days, and should speedily return"—"Yes, yes, he will not stay long here;"—and then leaving Sébastiani abruptly, he observed; "Have I told you my last conversation with Dupin?"—"No, Sire."—"Well then, as, thanks to you, I am always in difficulty, I sent for Dupin; we talked over three or four combinations, all so difficult that they are, in fact, impossible; at last I said to him, make me a ministry, yourself; have you no one in your own circle to propose to me?—'No, indeed,' he replied; and then named four or five persons, Bignon, Teste, Etienne, adding; 'we should never get on for three months with them.'—But, my dear Dupin, the best thing that I can do then, is, to keep those I have?—'Why, yes, Sire,' said he, 'I believe there is nothing better, and I advise you to do so.'"

The King paused for a moment, and looking at me with a mixture of vexation and kindness, continued: "Marshal Soult will be here to-morrow, to dinner; we shall try to understand each other, and come to a decision; but I do not wish to repeat the adventure of November last; I will not have a patched-up phantom of a cabinet; I want a solid, serious arrangement, as you gentlemen doctrinarians say; a cabinet to inspire confidence entirely by its talents and composition. I shall try with Marshal Soult; if I fail, then indeed I must submit to your yoke." "Ah, Sire! will your Majesty allow me to protest against that word? We tell the King frankly what appears to us good for his service; we cannot faithfully serve him contrary to our own ideas." "Well, well," concluded the King, with a smile, "when we disagree, and I am compelled to follow your advice, it comes pretty nearly to what I have said." I left him, convinced in my heart that he saw already in the Duke de Broglie his necessary resource, and had made up his mind to receive him.

The principal difficulty and longest hesitation lay elsewhere. It cost M. Thiers a struggle to see the Duke de Broglie, a doctrinarian and my intimate friend, become minister of Foreign Affairs and president of the Council. Not that the political views and intentions of M. Thiers at that time differed from ours; on all great questions, internal or external, we had been, and continued to be of accord; but he feared lest his own position in the cabinet might be, or, above all, appear to be deteriorated. It is his disposition, and, as I think, a propensity that has deceived him more than once, to

want confidence in his own strength, not to rely sufficiently on himself alone; and in his conduct, to be over-anxious to conciliate the political party in which he was cradled. By natural taste and intelligence he is a man of order and government, which seldom occurs in the ranks amongst which he has habitually lived. Hence results, between his position and inclination, between the traditions of his life and the instincts of his mind, a disunion, which has often led him into embarrassment and weakness. Had he possessed more just pride, more firmness in his own thought and will, he would, I believe, have better regulated his destiny, as well for himself as for his country; for he would have found more power in his independence than in the party, naturally revolutionary or wavering, to which he attached himself. In point of fact, he had no objection either to the person or policy of the Duke de Broglie; he felt convinced, that in the cabinet thus modified, and precisely because the modification could not appear to be his work, his influence would be great, and loyally admitted; but it would look like a triumph of the doctrinarians; it would be said that the equilibrium in the different ranks of the cabinet was destroyed, and his friends would assail him with their discontent. He hesitated, sometimes consenting, and at others objecting to the entry of the Duke de Broglie into the Council, and thus keeping in suspense a combination becoming daily more essential, but which could not be formed, and no one wished to form, without his consent and co-operation.

The Chambers and the public began to be disturbed

by so much delay and uncertainty. A call of the house, in the Chamber of Deputies, announced and then adjourned, was on the eve of being renewed. On the 9th of March, 1835, I repaired to the Tuileries, where I had not been for several days, to consult with the King how this was to be met. Marshal Soult was there. The King took me into the embrasure of a window, and said, while pointing him out to me, "The Marshal can do nothing, we must consult other parties." The conversation went no further on that point, but on the following morning I received a note from the King desiring to see me without delay. "All the combinations we have tried have failed," he said to me; "we must bring things to a close: I require from you distinct and positive advice." "The King knows what I think of the position and of the means of rescue; but I can do nothing apart from my colleagues. I can give your Majesty no formal advice but in concert with them." "Very good; meanwhile, find the Duke de Broglie, and send him here, I wish to speak with him." I immediately called on the Duke, who went to the Tuileries. The King received him graciously, conversed in a friendly tone on the state of affairs, made no objection to any of his proposals, not even that the Council should meet, when we considered it desirable, without the royal presence. His resolution was taken. On the side of the crown there was no longer an obstacle to surmount.

Still affairs were not settled. M. Thiers continued to hesitate; the Chamber of Deputies became more and more impatient; the majority which had constantly

supported the cabinet loudly proclaimed itself favourable to the return of the Duke de Broglie as the best method of fortifying it. An address to the King was talked of, to assure him of the persevering adherence of the Chamber, to the policy in vigour. The summonses, several times announced, were issued for the 11th of March. I took an important share in the debate. I felt myself supported and urged on by the favour of the Chamber to the solution I desired. I called upon it, while carefully maintaining the prerogative of the crown, to manifest its influence in bringing the crisis to an end. The members of the majority met in great number at the house of M. Fulchiron, one of themselves, and deputed seven of the party to signify to such of the ministers as were undecided on the proposed combination, their desire to see doubts at an end, and to assure them that the cabinet so completed would receive their firm support. M. Thiers availed himself with a good grace of this opportunity of emerging from a hesitation which now embarrassed himself, and on the 12th of March the cabinet was constructed under the presidency of the Duke de Broglie, as minister for Foreign Affairs. Marshal Maison replaced Marshal Mortier in the War Department; Admiral Rigny, who from the first moment of the crisis, and with the most loyal disinterestedness, had declared himself ready to resign the Foreign Office in favour of the Duke de Broglie, remained in the Council as minister without a portfolio; and M. Duchâtel, Admiral Duperré, M. Humann, M. Persil, M. Thiers, and I, retained the departments we had filled before.

These ministerial checks have been greatly complained of, and have given rise to one of the most popular objections against the parliamentary system. I am not surprised at this: a melancholy spectacle is presented by the wavering skirmishings and interruptions of power, and by the contest of the legitimate or unlawful ambitions which dispute its possession. The public grow uneasy at these political interludes, and the actors usually lose something in the revelations and agitations behind the scenes. To speak the truth, the appearance is more injurious than the mischief is real; neither the outcry of the opposition nor the alarm of the public convey a just estimate of the real inconveniences of such a crisis. When closely examined, it does not appear that public affairs are much impeded by it, and the individuals involved run more risk than the state. But a decisive answer is ready to meet the reproaches to which these incidents of the parliamentary system give rise. Liberty and publicity are never more essential or salutary than at the moment when various pretenders aspire to the government of the country. It is, then, pre-eminently important that all intentions should reveal themselves, all combinations be attempted, and all useful transactions be accomplished, and that none should succeed without submitting to the trial of discussion before the public, and of open contest with its rivals. This trial, advantageous to the character of politicians, and to the interests of the country, is fatal to those who fail under it. It is just and useful that their weaknesses should be known; others may learn from them lessons in dignity, con-

stancy in their ideas and conduct, and fidelity to their friends. It is thus that fitting leaders are found for great political parties: the country learns to know the men who aspire to govern it, and can tell at once, when they appear on the scene, whether or not they are worthy of confidence. It is not ministerial crises alone that should be blamed by those who so vehemently condemn them; they should extend the censure to liberal governments altogether, of which they form a natural and inevitable portion. Liberty has its objections, which must be endured to obtain its advantages; but, in the number, these ministerial crises are not the most serious nor the most difficult to surmount.

As soon as the cabinet was completed, the debate re-commenced in the Chamber of Deputies, on the causes of its dissolution and re-construction. During two days, Messrs. Mauguin, Garnier-Pagès, Sauzet, and Odilon Barrot, endeavoured to show that it should neither have dissolved nor re-formed as it had done. The anger of the opposition was extreme: it had hoped that these fluctuations of power, which had succeeded each other for nearly a year, would lead to a complete change, not only of persons, but of systems, and that the policy of concession would finally replace the policy of resistance. The real question was, whether the conspiracies and anarchical commotions of April, 1834, were to be punished after suppression, or whether power, which had conquered the insurgents in the streets, would declare itself unable to try them according to the laws, and would itself re-open for them a scene of action in which to proclaim from all sides their ardour to renew the

combat. This was the point debated under the name of the amnesty. The opposition, in all its shades, believed itself on the point of a favourable decision, and then saw the Cabinet exactly re-formed, which for three years had sustained the policy of resistance, and looked upon it as its patriotic mission, to assure the triumph of order in law as in fact, by judicial sentences as by victories of public force. When speaking for the first time as president of the Council, the Duke de Broglie, with an air full of authority and candour, laid down clearly, on the one hand, the policy in which the cabinet was determined to persevere, and on the other, the truly constitutional character of the cabinet itself, and of the principles on which it was re-organised. His language pleased the majority, as broad daylight gratifies those who seek their road; all indecision ceased in the Chambers, as in the government, and the ministry applied itself to work, confident in its parliamentary position and internal elements.

Its first labours answered its hopes and the public expectation. Nearly all the important questions in suspense were settled. A fresh bill, introduced to determine the debt owing to the United States of America, was debated and adopted; and in spite of the diplomatic objections which for some time delayed its execution, this cause of disagreement and perhaps of rupture between the two nations entirely disappeared. Laws on the duties of the municipal authorities, and on the responsibility of the ministers and agents of power, formed the subject of serious debates. An act was promulgated which modified, in a sense favourable to

the progressive emancipation of the slaves, the criminal legislation of the colonies. Another act, as important for the material prosperity of our fields as the law on elementary education had proved itself for intellectual progress, the act on cross-roads, was prepared, debated, adopted, and brought into regular operation in the following year. In June and July, 1834, M. Duchâtel had commenced important reforms in our commercial system. Two decrees,[1] issued in virtue of special powers accorded by the law of finance, and concerted between two French and two English commissioners (Lord Clarendon was one of the latter), abolished various prohibitions, and reduced the entrance duties on a great number of articles—iron, coal, wool, flax, &c. Corresponding reductions had been agreed to in England, and free trade was beginning to be seriously debated, and to advance progressively. A little later—in October, 1834—M. Duchâtel undertook a great commercial inquiry, to discover, by a close study of facts, what would be the consequences of a general removal of prohibitions, and on what conditions they might be abolished. This inquiry was held before the superior Council of Trade, and at the close of every sitting the depositions of the witnesses examined were published in the newspapers. Government was anxious to carry out its reforms, with the aid of time, of well established information, and under the eyes of a warned and enlightened public. The ministerial embarrassments which came on at the end of 1834 suspended the results of the inquiry; but in October, 1835, when

[1] Of the 2nd of June and 8th of July, 1834.

firmly established order allowed hopes and efforts for the future, M. Duchâtel, by a fresh decree,[1] re-entered the path he had opened, and made new advances towards the free extension of our commercial relations, so prudently measured, that they were adopted almost without a murmur, even by the interests that had no desire for them. Thus, while the conservative principle prevailed in policy, an intelligent activity reigned in administration, and the parliamentary labours of the cabinet did not prevent us from watching with solicitude over the current and material affairs of the state.

While we thus honestly exercised the constitutional system, the Court of Peers defended itself firmly against the enemies inveterately bent on its overthrow. I have said enemies, for, on the part of the vanquished insurgents, the prosecutions of April were still the pretence for war,—war transported from the streets to the Court of Justice, loudly proclaimed, and systematically pursued by discharges of theories, declamations, and invectives, instead of volleys of musketry. I do not believe that the judicial history of the world has ever presented a similar spectacle: one hundred and twenty-one accused criminals bearing themselves as accusers of the laws and the entire government, refusing absolutely to acknowledge any of their privileges, preserving silence when interrogated, speaking and vociferating when ordered to be silent, opposing personal violence to public force; imprecating, insulting, threatening, predicting their approaching victory and vengeance, venting practical and fanatical anarchy in the name of the

[1] Of the 10th of October, 1835.

republic, and indulging in the most extravagant licence to prolong and inflame the trial, in the hope of once more engendering civil war. And besides, by an inconsistency which would be strange, if anything could be strange in this chaos, these very accused, who proclaimed war against their judges, demanded from these same judges all the guarantees, forms, and punctilios of regular justice, and pretended to impose all their demands on the power to which they refused all its rights.

At a distance from the court, and in the acts or nocturnal meetings of the party, the same policy was adopted; the same indifference reigned as to the nature and morality of means, provided they assisted the cause. It was thought desirable to disgust the national guards with the service in which they were employed at the Luxembourg; an attempt was made to sign and circulate a protest; the attempt failed. Then a letter was addressed to the president of the Court of Peers, importing that several honourable national guards of the 9th legion had refused the duty. The imputed signers disavowed the letter; it was a forgery. A journal of the party, the *Reformer*, had been condemned; it published a letter it pretended to have received from one of the jury, declaring that he had only voted for *guilty* to escape from the prosecution with which he was threatened. The twelve jury-men who had given the sentence unanimously denied the pretended letter; that also was a falsehood. A publication more extraordinary still, led to an incident which singularly influenced the trial. The *Tribune* and the *Reformer* published a letter addressed to the accused by the committee for

their defence, exhorting them to persevere in their ardent resistance, and winding up with this insult on the Court of Peers: "The infamy of the judge forms the glory of the accused." On the proposition of the Duke of Montebello, the Court, greatly offended, ordered prosecutions to be entered against the authors of this letter, and the trial of the defendants was added to that of the insurgents. The names of two deputies, Messrs. de Cormenin and Audry de Puyraveau, figured amongst the signatures. The Court of Peers demanded from the Chamber of Deputies permission to prosecute them. M. de Cormenin declared that he had not signed: the same declaration was made by nearly all the persons whose names were at the foot of the letter. It had been drawn up and signed without their consent, and in the hope that they would not repudiate it. An ironical surprise was expressed by the public. A violent debate sprang up in the heart of the party. Should they all acknowledge the letter as if they had all signed it, or should the truth be told? The last suggestion prevailed. Two members of the committee, Messrs. Trélat and Michel de Bourges, declared themselves the sole authors. Some of the other pretended signers silently admitted the responsibility: these were singly prosecuted, and condemned with the editors of the two papers. But this falsehood, perpetrated with so much thoughtlessness, and so weakly abandoned, seriously injured the accused and their defenders with the public and with the Court; and the trial, for a moment more complicated by this incident, proceeded smoothly to its termination.

There is no state of chaos into which humanity can fall, so deplorable to contemplate as that of the human soul itself. The accused and their party presented this sad spectacle. Good and evil, truth and falsehood, justice and injustice, the useful and the pernicious, the possible and the impossible, all were mingled and confounded in their spirits, perturbed to frenzy, or perverted to crime; and what remained in them of generous or noble, of sincere conviction or courage, seemed only to precipitate them into the abyss of anarchy to which they endeavoured to drag their country, in the belief of its enfranchisement and regeneration.

The Court of Peers repeated in this difficult position the great examples of tranquil firmness and judicious moderation it had previously given. In 1830, during the trial of the ministers of Charles X., it had maintained justice to the accused against public passion; in 1835 it preserved public order against the fury of the criminals, by also remembering equity. Neither the length of the proceedings, the violence of the actual scenes, the unexpected interruptions, the legal entanglements, nor the successive retirement of several of its members, wearied or excited, disturbed its calm deliberation; nothing checked it; it was resolved to be moderate and effective. One hundred and sixty-four peers attended at the first sitting; one hundred and eighteen were present at the last, and signed the definitive sentence. The trial had lasted nine months. The accused, their defenders, and their journals had incessantly spoken, protested, and declaimed as if in presence of the scaffold: "You want one hundred and sixty-four

heads; take them. Send to death the supporters of one hundred and fifty families of the people. I am dragged here by force; I am torn to pieces; I am massacred; here, behold my bosom! Strike, and end me!" No sentence of death was pronounced; transportation was the heaviest penalty. The Court maintained the empire of the laws without employing their full strength, and defended the state against anarchical insurrection, without heeding the extravagances and threats of the insurgents.

In proportion as the trial had been difficult and stormy, so also was the triumph a signal one for the government. It was the victory of the laws after that of arms; neither force nor justice had been wanting to vindicate society. Nevertheless, obstacles and dangers continued or incessantly sprang up anew on the footsteps of power. Its enemies, far from showing discouragement at their defeats, redoubled their inveteracy and manœuvres; the violence of their journals remained without abatement; the prosecutions of the press, always numerous, generally eventuated in variable and alternating results; to-day, condemnations; to-morrow, acquittals, equally inefficacious either to repress or satisfy rebellious passions. The public evinced surprise that the victory of order did not entail more repose and security. A man of strong mind and indomitable courage, a known liberal, who by his name, his character and talent exercised commanding influence in the south-west of France, M. Henri Fonfrède, wrote to me from Bordeaux: "We remain on a field of battle, where, in spite of success so painfully

won, obstacles and dangers are incessantly springing up again, and shackle the action of power at the moment when it should seem to manifest itself in full security and firmness. People's minds are much disturbed at this. I think I may say that the principal seed of the mischief lies in the democratic influence too powerfully excited, and in the absence of clear and fixed principles in the bosom of our own party. Our electoral colleges themselves, in their governmental portion, which here at least forms a great and evident majority, are so disunited, and abandoned to the thousand theoretical shades of the last newly-broached argument, that, with the best intentions in the world, they are capable, without suspecting it, of voting against their own political opinions, and of thus contributing, not to the conciliation, always so desirable, of moderate and conscientious ideas, but to an inexplicable confusion of heterogeneous and opposing principles, which would take from the men engaged in the work of social restoration the levers they require for effective action."

While the trial was in progress, we soon perceived that, although the war continued, the field of battle was changed. It was no longer to great public movements, to extensive plots, or to popular risings that our enemies looked for success; it was in the person of the King that they sought to strike and destroy the entire system. Assassination replaced revolt. Between the autumn of 1834 and the summer of 1835, seven projected crimes of this nature were discovered and defeated by the authorities; some conceived and followed up with profound obstinacy; others dreamed of by frenzied

imaginations, and by that detestable ambition of celebrity, no matter at what cost, which great social disorders is sure to excite. We approached the annual fêtes of July; the King was to hold a grand review of the national guards on the Boulevards; sinister reports were circulated; revelations at once precise and obscure reached the administration; scattered symptoms, disjointed speeches, with, nevertheless, a strange coincidence, indicated a strong prepossession spread in all directions. M. de Nouvion has carefully collected and recapitulated them in these terms: "Towards the approach of the 28th of July, several prominent journals published simultaneously a correspondence from Paris thus expressed: 'It is continually reported that Louis-Philippe will be assassinated, or that an attempt will be made to assassinate him at the review of the 28th. This rumour is undoubtedly intended to induce his faithful national guards to assemble in great numbers, and protect him with their bayonets.' In the *Quotidian* of the 21st of July we read: 'The government still affects to envelop in the most profound mystery the pretended plot against the person of Louis-Philippe. Phantasmagoria! A conspiracy the secret of which lies in the formation of certain body-guards, for which the public are prepared by pretences of danger to the royal family.' On the 24th, the *Corsair* said: Prince L——— (King Leopold) has sent to ask his father-in-law for his receipts for political assassination. Enthusiasm declines at Brussels. There is at present at the prefecture of police a brigade appointed to conduct the monthly murders.' On the 26th, the *Charivari* con-

tained these two lines: 'Yesterday the citizen-king came to Paris with his superb family, without being at all assassinated.' On the 28th, the day of the crime, the *Corsair* said, while alluding to the King's passage by the Place Vendôme: 'Bets are laid on the total eclipse of the Napoleon of Peace.' On the same day, the paper called *France*, after giving an account of the proceedings of the morning before, called *the Festival of the Dead*, added this horrible joke: 'Perhaps it is for the festival of the living that, by way of compensation, the spectacle of an interment is to be presented. We shall see this to-morrow, or the day after.' Abroad, the *Correspondent of Hamburg*, of the 25th of July, announced that a catastrophe was expected during the anniversary of the three days. A letter from Berlin of the 26th stated that the same report was disseminated there. On the 28th, some young men, travelling in Switzerland, after having inscribed in the register of an inn the names of Louis-Philippe and his sons, added these words, 'May they repose in peace!'"[1]

In the midst of these rumours, the greater number of which were either ignored or little noticed at the time, and which, nevertheless, spread a vague alarm through the air, we repaired on the 28th of July to the Tuileries, at the moment when the King was preparing to leave the palace for the review. The royal family were assembled. The Queen anxious and silent; Madame Adelaide visibly affected, and requiring to be reassured; the young princes rejoicing to hear that the

[1] History of the Reign of Louis-Philippe I., by Victor de Nouvion. Vol. iii. pp. 501—502.

troops were superb and the national guards numerous. It was agreed that some of the ministers should accompany the King, and that the rest should go with the Queen to the hôtel of the Chancery in the Place Vendôme, to wait the return of his Majesty, who was to stop there to be present when the troops filed off. The King mounted his horse, and set out with his three sons, the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Nemours, and the Prince of Joinville, four of his ministers, the Duke de Broglie, Marshal Maison, Admiral Rigny, and M. Thiers, Marshals Mortier and Lobau, and a numerous staff. The rest of us, Admiral Duperré, M. Duchâtel, M. Humann, M. Persil, and I, proceeded to the Chancery. More than an hour passed on; news came of the review at every moment; we all congratulated each other on the order that prevailed, on the fine appearance of the army, and on the excellent spirit of the national guard. Suddenly the Queen and Princesses arrived overwhelmed with terror and grief: at the moment when they quitted the Tuileries to repair to the Chancery, Colonel Boyer, one of the King's aides-de-camp, galloped up, bringing the news of the atrocious attempt which the King and his sons had escaped, but which had surrounded them with so many victims. A few minutes after twelve, on the boulevard of the Temple, the King was passing calmly along the ranks of the national guard, and a little in advance of his train; a burst of flame, from a window on the left, suddenly flashed across his eyes: "Joinville," said he to his son, who at that moment was the nearest person to him, "this concerns me;" and at the same instant a

storm of balls enveloped his passage, killing or mortally wounding forty-one persons who surrounded him. The King paused for a moment, saw his sons erect at his side, looked upon the dying victims, and pointing out with his finger to the Duke de Broglie, who had hastened to him, the ear of his horse pierced by a ball, "We must continue, my dear Duke," said he; "march on; march on." And, in fact, he proceeded with the review in the midst of the explosions of indignation and incessant acclamations of the national guard, the troops, and the populace.

The news had reached us at the Chancery at the same time that it arrived at the Tuileries; but the still obscure recital of the attempt, the uncertain reports already in circulation as to the number and names of the victims, the prolonged absence of the King and his suite, maintained and redoubled our alarms; the drawing-rooms of the Chancery were filled with ladies, the mothers, sisters, and daughters of those who accompanied the King; people ran from all sides to demand or bring news. Who was killed? who was wounded? what was going on at the continued review? The Duchess de Broglie arrived in search of her husband: the Queen threw herself into her arms, with great difficulty stifling her tears. The whole royal assemblage abandoned themselves to every description of terror, to every possible agony of the human heart, and none could yet tell what might be the measure of their grief.

The complete and accurate truth, cruel for some and consoling for others, was at length revealed. The review being over, the King arrived at the Chancery with

his train. Around the royal group, thus united and consoled, the losses were enumerated, including the names of eighteen other families, some illustrious and some obscure; a marshal, generals, and national guards; some workmen, women, and a young girl,—all struck down by the same blow, and a prey to the same desolation. After a short rest, the King, and the Princes his sons, remounted their horses at the gate of the Chancery; the battalions of the national guard and the regiments of the regular army filed off before them, with those enthusiastic acclamations, mingled with sympathy and anger, excited in masses of people by the spectacle of a great crime, a lamentable misfortune, and a terrible danger. The marching past having ended, all dispersed, princes and people; every one returned to his grief or his affairs. The Duke de Broglie, when undressing, saw a bullet fall from his neckcloth, which had lodged there, after having, without his perceiving it at the moment, torn and stained with blood the collar of his coat. The people flocked round the Tuileries, the scene of the attempt, the doors of those who were known to be wounded; and the same evening, the King, the Queen, and Madame Adelaide, in a close carriage, and without escort, went to the widow of Marshal Mortier, the Duchess of Treviso, to offer her the testimonies of sympathy which honour those who tender them more than they console the sufferers on whom they are bestowed.

The horror was universal and profound. The public were indignant and affected. The crime had been arranged and perpetrated with atrocious indifference.

All classes, ranks, and ages had been stricken. Royal and popular afflictions were confounded together. The King had displayed, in the moment of peril, the most imperturbable firmness, and the tenderest sensibility when he rejoined his family. No one ever possessed more simple and unassuming courage, with less disposition to display it ostentatiously. Thousands of spectators witnessed and related all the terrible and touching details of the event. Eight days after, on the 5th of August, fourteen coffins, borne on the same number of funeral cars, preceded and followed by an immense train,—ministers, national guards, troops of the line, clergy, magistrates, learned associations, public schools, and representatives of society in every grade, passed along the boulevards, from the square of the Bastille to the Invalids, through a dense population, passionately moved and in profound silence. The King, the Queen, and all the royal family were present, and received the cortege at the Hôtel of the Invalids. In presence of all divine and human grandeur, all these coffins, which a single crime had filled with tenants so different in degree, were lowered one after the other into the same vault. The ceremony over, and when this nation of spectators had dispersed,—during the ensuing days, in the bosom of their families, in the public places, wherever men were encountered who had nothing to conceal, one unanimous sentiment displayed itself: a general cry that it had now become imperiously necessary to put an end to the attacks, provocations, and manœuvres which stirred up these crimes, and inflicted such dangers on society, and such sufferings on the human heart.

The cabinet hesitated not for a moment in the execution of this duty. The evil lay in the continued provocation, ultimately audacious and crafty, for the overthrow of established order. To attain this end, the conspirators arrogated the right of incessantly holding and replacing everything in question,—the very bases of society as well as the acts of its government, the primitive and fundamental right of public authorities in common with their conduct. This was what was called the liberty of the human mind and the liberty of the press. It was necessary to attack and subdue this anarchical pretension in its principle, after having conquered it in its armed and material consequence,—insurrection.

We assailed the enemy in front. The acts we introduced on the 4th of August, 1835, and which became laws on the 9th of September following, designated as an attempt against the safety of the state, every attack upon the principle and form of government established in 1830, if such attack tended to promote the overthrow or change of that government. These laws sanctioned and guaranteed the constitutional inviolability of the King, by punishing every one who should attribute to him the responsibility or blame of the acts of his government. They embraced defined precautions against the different modes of dissimulating these offences, and of eluding the penalty while in their actual commission. They regulated, according to the limits and general conditions laid down by the Charter, the punishments attached to the crimes, the tribunals competent to take cognizance of them, and the forms of prosecution, necessary to secure effectual and prompt repression.

In the estimation of all free and resolute minds, the details of the acts conformed entirely with the traditions of civilized countries and the rules of sound common sense. It is a mockery to demand, in the name of free human intelligence, the right of perpetually questioning the fundamental institutions of the state, and of confounding the speculations of reason with the strokes of war. In every human society there must be settled points, bases sheltered from all infringement; no state can subsist in the air, open to every wind and blow. When God, as the Scripture says, gave over the world to the disputes of men, he estimated the limits of their power; he knew how vain it would prove against his work, even though it might disturb the surface. But human efforts are infinitely weak and fragile when compared with the labours of Divinity. They require something which they cannot find in their own natural strength. And when a limit has been assigned between scientific discussion and political warfare, it becomes the duty of the legislator not to satisfy himself with vain defences, but to oppose to his assailants solid ramparts. The laws of September for the suppression of the offences, the gravity of which they proclaimed, invented no unheard-of penalties rejected by our established habits, no new jurisdiction which seemed predestined to rigour or servility. Transportation, in its various conditions, was from that time, and will continue to be from day to day, more accepted as the appropriate punishment for political offences. The Court of Peers, for twenty years, had given proofs of its independence and moderation, joined to effective firm-

ness. The modifications introduced into the forms of process had no other object than to secure the prompt suppression of crime without taking from the accused parties any of their means of defence. The Bills of September had none of the features of angry or exceptional acts; they maintained the essential securities of law while providing for the incidental and existing necessities of society; definitions, courts of trial, forms, and penalties were all combined in them, not to strike enemies, but to render public justice fully powerful and sufficient for its mission, while, at the same time, preserving its independence and impartiality.

The debate on these laws introduced a striking instance of the lamentable weakness of mind and heart, which, under the influence of personal passions or external clamours, can confound and darken the simplest and most determined ideas. While speaking of the punishment of transportation, which the opposition called atrocious, I was led to say: "We continually forget in this debate the object of all punishment, of all legal punishment. The question is not only to punish or restrain the condemned; it extends especially to the prevention of similar crimes. We must not only render the criminal incapable of repeating his offence, but we must prevent others who might be led to commit the same outrages from yielding to the temptation. Preventive and general intimidation is the great and predominating object of penal laws. We must choose in this world between the intimidation of honest and dishonest people; between the sincerity of mischievous plotters and fathers of families; both the one and the

other must take care to respect society and its laws. There must be a deeply-impressed and permanent feeling of a superior power ever capable of reaching and punishing offenders. In the interior of a family, in the relations of man with his God, there is naturally and necessarily, fear. He who dreads nothing will soon respect nothing. The moral nature of man requires to be regulated by an external power, as his physical nature, his blood and entire conformation must also be governed by the external air, the atmospheric pressure which weighs upon him. Produce a vacuum round the human body; you will instantly see its organization disturbed and destroyed. It is so with his moral being; a constant, energetic, and formidable power must watch over and control it; without which, man would surrender himself up to all the intemperance, madness, and egotism of passion." In this, there was surely nothing more than truth proclaimed by general good sense, and at all times acknowledged by publicists and moralists, as one of the fundamental bases of religious and civil legislation. The parties and their journals tortured it into a tyrannical and barbarous pretence. The word *intimidation* became the synonym of preventive iniquity and penal cruelty. They wrote and repeated this in conjunction with my name, as the terrible character of my policy. And as it is convenient to bring facts to the support of words, they invented some to show that what I said, I should also do if occasion offered. They asserted and reiterated that "during the insurrections of Lyons in 1831, and 1834, I had issued the most pitiless orders for their suppression." The lie

was flagrant. In 1831, I was not in the Cabinet, and in 1834, by the nature of my avocations, I could issue no order whatever with respect to Lyons, and I issued none. But truth is unheeded by hostile passions; credulity comes in aid of falsehood, and they forget that time must throw light upon their assertions; the advantage, and even more, the momentary pleasure they find in them, suffice for their vulgar satisfaction.

The Duke de Broglie won great honour in this debate. He explained and defended the proposed laws with a frank determination, a lofty lucidity of ideas and language, which left a powerful impression on both Chambers. He gained, on this occasion, the most honourable and useful of all triumphs; he gave to the partisans of the policy of resistance the satisfaction of hearing it brilliantly demonstrated that they were in the right, and confirmed them in their own conviction by the assurance that he himself was equally convinced. Notwithstanding the mischievous tendencies of human nature, men are gratified by esteeming while they admire, and parties are never more energetic or loyal than when they feel themselves honoured by the character and ability of their leaders.

The laws of September being once voted and promulgated, the state of mind throughout the country, as regarded them, was very mixed and opposed. The opposition disputed them vehemently; some from radical hostility, routine, or party prejudice; others from sincere uneasiness. The more I reflect on this subject, the more I am convinced that the opposition of that day continually acted under a double

error; it dreaded the mischief too little and the remedies too much; it had an insufficient conviction of the perils which menaced society from the false ideas and evil passions which fermented in its bosom. It was far too ready to believe public liberty compromised, or even lost. Free nations require to shelter themselves under strong constructions, particularly when they have existed long, and their protracted endurance has developed very different elements and very complicated positions. And their liberties are as much involved here as their repose, for liberty, whose seeds may be sown by the breath of revolutions, cannot take root or increase except in the bosom of order and under regular and permanent authorities. The firm establishment of the new government was, in our estimate, after 1830, the first and most essential condition of liberty; and such was the situation and nature of that government that it could not inflict on liberty any serious risk. The opposition, I speak now of the loyal and unreserved opposition, mistook this general state of the country; and the error was natural, for it was that of a considerable portion of the country itself. It believed its political health to be more sound than it really was, and rejected as useless and almost injurious the majority of the remedies proposed. Thus, while combating the laws of September, the parliamentary opposition wanted neither echo nor effect; and these laws encountered, beyond the Chambers, the same kind and nearly the same degree of discontent and censure which they found within them.

In return, the adhesion, not only of the declared friends of the policy of resistance, but of the impartial

spectators, was prompt and decided. In the departments, the great majority of the general councils, elected by the most enlightened and independent classes, and representing tranquilly the local sentiments and interests, hastened to express their satisfaction with the avowed firmness of the cabinet, and the securities it had established for public peace. It was readily admitted that these securities were neither oppressive nor vain. The hostile press lowered its tone without ceasing to be free; its violences and scandals became more rare and restrained; but the discussion of the policy and acts of power remained open and animated. Judged by the test of experience, the laws of September, for several years, sufficiently protected public order, while most assuredly they did not destroy liberty.

Europe was struck by the spectacle which France at that time presented. The calm courage and presence of mind of the King, at the moment of the attempted assassination, were greatly admired. Much was said of the visible hand of Providence which had protected him and his sons under the overwhelming danger. Thirteen years later, when the Government of 1830 had ceased to exist, an old Tory of my acquaintance, an avowed legitimist as regarded France, Mr. Croker, said to me in London: "After the attempt of Fieschi, when I saw by what good fortune King Louis-Philippe had escaped, and the vigour with which his government protected threatened society, I believed, for the first time, that he was destined to found in France the constitutional system with his dynasty." Providence reserved its own

time, to teach us the lesson that many other conditions are wanting, beyond the courage and upright conduct of a few men, to put an end to revolutions and establish a government.

During the four months which rolled on between the promulgation of the laws of September and the opening of the session of 1836, the position of the cabinet was strong and tranquil; no great event disturbed us, no internal dissension occasioned embarrassment in the regular labour of administration. The trial of Fieschi and his accomplices, the winding up of the prosecutions of the insurgents of April, the negotiations relative to carrying out the treaty of the 25 millions between France and the United States, the diplomatic movements of Europe, the revolutionary crisis of Spain, the preparation of the bills to be presented to the Chambers at the approaching session, fully occupied us, without exciting any untoward complication for the present, or any serious inquietude for the future. A single incident induced me to adopt a resolution, which for myself might lead to a delicate responsibility. Marshal Clauzel, at that time governor-general of Algeria, was preparing an expedition to the interior of the province of Oran, and against Mascara. The Duke of Orleans anxiously desired to go to Africa, and take part in it. His wish encountered many objections in the cabinet. It was not considered desirable to expose the heir to the crown to serious dangers in an enterprise in an unknown land, and with no political necessity. It was doubted whether Marshal Clauzel would feel satisfaction at the presence of the Prince with the army, and some misunderstanding

was apprehended between them. The King mentioned to me his son's wish: "A very natural one," he said, "and which, all things considered, it would be well to gratify: whatever may be the chances, my son must live with, and acquire credit in the army. Help me to remove the obstacles he will encounter; recommend, in the council, his departure for Africa; he will feel greatly obliged, and I wish him to be on friendly terms with you." The King was right; activity, a desire to serve the country, and to win distinction in so doing, form the duty and make the fortune of princes. I supported with my colleagues, in private and in the council, the proposal for the departure of the Duke of Orleans on the projected expedition. On his way he was to pass by Corsica, to pause there for several days, and to show attention to the wants of that country, so neglected, of the master it had given to Europe. He left France in fact towards the end of October, and on the 26th of November following, at the moment of marching with the army on Mascara, he wrote to me from Oran:—

"I cannot, sir, set out for the expedition destined to complete the voyage, the embarking in which I owe to you, without once more thanking you for having taken an interest in my future career, as much as for appreciating the duty of my present position, which calls me, above all other considerations, to where the army has a task to perform. I feel confident that the result of my journey will not in any manner cause you to regret your concurrence with my desire; and I know that in conducting myself so as to conciliate the interests of the army, I am equally bound to avoid anything that

might hereafter attach specious reproaches to the responsibility of the government.

"I have no time or place to specify in a letter written hurriedly, and at the moment of mounting my horse, the numerous observations I endeavoured to collect with impartiality on the state of our marine, on Corsica, and on Africa; but I cannot omit this opportunity of telling you that I can only congratulate myself, in every point, on the deportment of Marshal Clauzel towards me. While I must endeavour not to allow the judgment I ought to form on the state of this country to be influenced by the reception I have met with, I am bound to acknowledge that important results, and which you know I was far from expecting, have been already accomplished by the marshal. He has extinguished all political dissension; he represents suitably, and enforces respect to the royal authority, while the spirit of party has ceased to exist in the population, hitherto the most accessible to it from its composition. The troops have resumed confidence in their chief and in themselves, and in a military point of view affairs are most satisfactory. As to the general direction of his command, I can affirm that the marshal now thoroughly understands what it wanted to obtain the support of the government; and he is prepared to carry it out, even in opposition to the colonists. I think also that he perceives the necessity of speedily diminishing the excessive charges which our African possessions so heavily inflict on France; and I have had an opportunity of discussing with him a plan of government for the regency of Algeria, which I anxiously desire to submit

to the approbation of the King and his ministers, on my return to Paris. I shall be at Toulon, by the latest, on the 18th or 19th of December; and until then, I entreat you, sir, to receive the full assurance of my sentiments towards you."

The expedition fully accomplished its end. Mascara was taken. The Duke of Orleans obtained great credit with the army and its leaders, for his intelligence, as prompt and brilliant as his courage; and on the 19th of December, as he had announced to me, he disembarked at Toulon, delighted at having so successfully taken his first step in military life, in Africa, and preserving a friendly remembrance of my interference for him on that occasion.

On the same day, at five in the evening, a funeral procession even more than modest, almost that of a pauper, followed only by a brother, a sister, and a priest, passed through Paris, bearing to a village church near Bordeaux, the coffin of a very worthy man, a great citizen in the days of supreme danger, and sometimes a great orator in public debate. The former president of the Chamber of Deputies, the minister of Louis XVIII., M. Lainé, died in Paris, on the 17th of December, and it was his final wish that he should be carried without the slightest display to his last resting-place. In 1830, after the Revolution of July, he held himself at first aloof, sincerely mourning, both from conviction and consistency, the ancient royalty he had served for sixteen years, if not with a clear and sound policy, at least with honest patriotism, generous moderation, and a mournful courage, which sometimes inspired him with

noble impulses of oratory. When he saw the new monarchy established and struggling with anarchy, he took his seat silently in the Chamber of Peers, and from that day until his death he unscrupulously discharged all his political duties, without issuing, for any other purpose, from the retreat to which he had devoted the remainder of his life. He had a highly exalted nature, easily moved, and melancholy, and whose instincts, greater than his ideas, carried him on, with a touching mixture of moral simplicity and the pomp of rhetoric, to eloquent virtue. His mind had little originality or vigour, high aspirations rather than clear convictions, and his talent, which wanted precision in the base, and purity in the structure, prevented him from being invariably elevated, ardent, or sympathetic. I often thought and acted in opposition to M. Lainé: after 1830, I seldom met him; but both in my relations with him, and looking on his conduct and life from a distance, I ever entertained for him a sincere esteem, and I take pleasure now in recording a homage to his memory, which in 1835 I would willingly have paid to his grave.

The session began on the 29th of December, under favourable auspices; no violent or approaching trouble threatened the country; no vital question pressed upon the government; confidence was reviving, public liberty displayed itself in the bosom of order, which we began to think was thoroughly re-established. "I hope," said the King, on opening the session, "that the moment has arrived for France to reap the fruits of her prudence and courage. Enlightened by the past, let

us profit by experience so dearly bought; let us apply ourselves to tranquillize the public mind, to improve our laws, and to protect by judicious measures all the interests of a nation, which, after so many storms, offers to the civilized world the salutary example of a noble moderation, the only pledge of permanent success. The care of its repose, of its liberty, and greatness, is my first duty; its happiness will be my highest reward." Two days after, M. Dupin, re-elected president of the Chamber of Deputies, said, on taking possession of the chair: "If during the preceding sessions external agitation has sometimes carried its reaction within these walls, I have no doubt that the profound peace which reigns in the state will extend over us its salutary influence. The struggle will be entirely parliamentary; it will be worthy of those concerned in it; the interests of the country will be nobly and freely debated; rivalries, should any arise, will only be inspired by anxiety for the public good; every one will wish to carry back to his home the sentiment of a duty generously accomplished."

On the 14th of January, 1836, M. Humann introduced to the Chamber of Deputies the financial bills. From the opening of his discourse, while exposing the necessities and resources for the service of the year 1837, he represented as important, legitimate, and opportune, if not urgent, the measure which M. de Villèle had attempted without success in 1824,—the paying off or reduction of the funds. The Chamber received his speech with marked favour, while we on the ministerial bench listened to it with extreme sur-

prise. Good or bad, such a measure was evidently too serious to be brought forward without the deliberate examination and formal consent of the cabinet. It had neither been decided on nor even considered; the step now taken was the act of the minister of Finance alone; neither the King nor the other members of the Council had approved or been told of it.

Many spectators at the time, and several historians since, have looked upon it as an act treacherously premeditated, a skilful intrigue, planned to divide, disjoint, and overthrow the cabinet; an intrigue of which M. Humann would have been the credulous and involuntary instrument. This was to infuse into policy more of the Machiavelian comedy than it really contained, although it had enough. M. Humann was neither an instrument nor a dupe. On his own part, he had no evil design against the cabinet, with whose general views he sincerely accorded; nor was he on this occasion in any manner whatever the blind implement of the designs of others. Deeply convinced of the legality and advantage of converting the funds, he had in 1824, supported M. de Villèle in this attempt. At a later period, either before or after his accession to the ministry, he had several times advocated the same view; perhaps even in preparing the budget for 1837, he may have again named his idea to some of his colleagues, but he never proposed to the Council its formal adoption or approaching fulfilment. He developed it in his exposition of motives, to increase his own satisfaction, and to establish the basis of a normal budget which he was most anxious to carry

through. His mind was at the same time comprehensive and blundering; he was obstinate and timid before contradiction, and persevering in his views, although confused in his manner of stating and supporting them. He was greatly bent on accomplishing during his ministry some important act, which might add to his own credit. "What do you complain of?" said M. Royer-Collard, who was a little given to irony with his friends, "M. Guizot has his law on elementary instruction; M. Thiers his on the completion of public monuments; M. Humann also wishe his own particular glory." In adopting, on the conversion of the funds, a tone officially positive and urgent, M. Humann said much more than he had ventured to say beforehand to the King and to his colleagues, but he had not deliberately resolved to commit them at all hazards and without their consent. He advanced to his object with a mixture of precipitation and embarrassment, but without any disloyal thought in reserve. He exhibited a degree of imprudence, both egotistical and cunning, but no direct intrigue, or secret complaisance with any intrigues that fermented round the cabinet.

In any point of view, such an act, and the position in which it placed the King and the cabinet, could not be endured; the personal dignity and the acts of the government were equally compromised. We explained ourselves clearly with M. Humann. He felt the bearing of what he had done, expressed his regret while persisting in his error, and sent in his resignation. The Count d'Argout, governor of the

Bank, immediately succeeded him in the ministry of Finance.

The question raised by M. Humann, remained untouched by his retirement, and on this, the cabinet was compelled at once to take its resolution. We were apprised that interrogatories would be addressed to us on the subject, not by the opposition, but by one of our sincerest friends, M. Augustine Giraud; for the conversion of the funds had in our own ranks partizans as warm as amongst our political adversaries. Our position was delicate. The King was strongly opposed to the measure, which he regarded as unjust in itself, contrary to public good faith, injurious to his government, and even, as he thought, illegal. The greater portion of us, on the contrary, looked upon it as legitimate in principle, and judicious to adopt as soon as convenient, but that the opportunity had not yet arrived and should be waited for. We resolved not to approach it, unless the Chamber made it the object of a specific proposition; and to declare, meanwhile, that the cabinet had decided, on the one hand, not to bring forward, during the current session, the conversion of the funds; and on the other, not to pledge itself to any positive engagement, or fixed day, as to the time when the measure should be proposed. This was the language held by the Duke de Broglie, when explaining, in the most friendly terms, our misunderstanding with M. Humann, the motives of his retirement, and the regret it had occasioned. So much reserve was unacceptable to the parties impatient for the conversion of the funds; they wanted the cabinet, at once, to adopt the measure, in principle, to

declare the reason why it was considered inopportune, and to name the time when it would become suitable. They complained that the Duke de Broglie had not expressed himself with sufficient clearness. He repeated the limits and motives of his reserve, and using the same words he had employed to answer the interrogatory addressed to us, he in his turn asked the question, "Is it clear?" Nothing, in fact, could be more explicit than what he said, or more judicious and loyal than the conduct he adopted in the name of the cabinet. It is exactly in embarrassing and doubtful matters that it becomes the first duty of men in power to say openly, what for the present they mean or do not mean to do, and to reserve, for the future, their right of deliberating and deciding according to the necessities or conveniences of the time. The Duke de Broglie, in acting thus, exercised the only policy worthy of a serious government in the face of a free country. He did not well foresee the disposition of the Chamber and the effect of his words, when he concluded his speech with this retort, a little dry and ironical, "Is it clear?" I have never known any man, who, in his relations with public assemblies or insulated individuals, was more scrupulously intent on acting rightly, and less anxious to please. The Chamber felt piqued at his attitude, and warmed more and more in its desire to press on the cabinet strongly that the conversion of the funds should be, if not immediately carried out, at least resolved in principle, and fixed for an early epoch. Three formal propositions were submitted on this point, and the leading one, that of M. Gouin, received by the committees

of the Chamber, became on the 5th and 6th of February the subject of a formal debate.

Of the members of the cabinet, those who took a principal part in it were M. Thiers and M. Duchâtel. With the inventive and supple correctness of his mind, M. Thiers treated the question in all its features: in the name of the whole cabinet, he admitted, not only that the conversion of the funds was legal and profitable for the state, but that it would inevitably come on in time. He showed how, if it were suddenly adopted, it would be unjust and oppressive; exposed the exaggerated estimate of the promised advantages, and the inconveniences that might result from them, if the measure were adopted in the midst of a position lately so stormy and scarcely re-established. His conclusion was as modest as his arguments had been lucid: he confined himself to asking for an adjournment of the question. From considerations more exclusively financial, M. Duchâtel supported, both as to the end of the measure and the propriety of adjournment, the same policy. But, from very different reasons, the Chamber was strongly prejudiced. Some members wished to establish, at once, and at any risk, the equilibrium of the budget. Others, had a secret grudge against the capitalists and fund-holders of Paris. A taste for plans of finance, provincial jealousies, the suggestions of self-esteem, party intrigues, and personal animosities and ambitions, seconded the efforts of the opposition against the demands for adjournment. It was rejected by a majority of two, and the cabinet, determined not to accept such a check, immediately tendered its resignation to the King.

Ten days after this vote, an absent deputy, and one of the most independent as well as the most judicious, M. Jouffroy, wrote to me from Pisa, where his illness still detained him:—"The *Journal des Débats*, which arrived yesterday, has acquainted me with the fine decision of the Chamber on the proposition of M. Gouin, and the retirement of the cabinet. I have not yet recovered the surprise produced by this strange event. To overthrow a cabinet which for three years has faced the enemy, at the very moment when it was victorious, and when, thanks to its energy, the cause of order is saved; to overthrow it after having marched with it in difficult moments and shared its triumphs; to overthrow it on a question of finance, impracticable either this year or the next, because, as they say, it requires six months' reflection; to overthrow it, in fine, because it hesitated on a measure the justice of which is doubtful; —here is an absurdity which has no name, and which reveals an absence of political understanding utterly incredible. I grieve for the Chamber, and for my country, under such an act. It astonishes all rational men here, and seems to them inexplicable. It is not so, however, for those who know our Chamber as well as I do; and I see here how and of what material the majority of one hundred and ninety-four against one hundred and ninety-two is formed. But precisely because I know this, I cannot conceive what advantage will be gained by those who have brought on the dissolution of the cabinet. Composed as it is, it seems doubtful whether this agglomeration will hold together until the formation of a new one, and it is clear to me

that it will only create to destroy again. The King cannot go to the bosom of the third party. The two oppositions will not support a ministry from that source for three months. It must, therefore, die as it has already died, or abjure itself and conform to the late majority, by which it will always be suspected because it deserted them, and of which the retiring members of the old cabinet will always continue the leaders. Thus it will exist under the protection of, and by the grace of the vanquished, which will render it ridiculous. I cannot well understand such a situation; I would not consent to it at any price; and if the members of the fallen cabinet continue united, it cannot be long tenable. But what an unhappy accident for the country, with such questions open as the affair of the East, the civil war in Spain, and the dispute with the United States!"

M. Jouffroy, as I think, was entirely in the right, both in his judgment on the recent crisis, and in his anticipations of the future. If the members of the defeated cabinet, which, for more than three years, had exercised the same policy, and had yielded together while sustaining the same cause, had remained united after their defeat, as they had done in their days of power; if they had refused all separation in retirement as they had avoided all discord in ruling, they would assuredly have soon restored the success of their policy, and have advanced a great step towards the regular and complete establishment of representative administration. But the dispositions and resolutions required for such a line of conduct were no longer to be found with several of the parties whose concurrence was necessary,

and the hope of M. Jouffroy proved to be a dream which facts were not slow to falsify.

King Louis-Philippe was very capable of adopting a fixed idea, a permanent resolution, and of maintaining or resuming it according to the varying difficulties of events. He has sufficiently proved this by his constant and effectual attachment, in foreign matters, to the peace of Europe, and in internal affairs to legal order. If he had been equally convinced that the solid union of the various shades of party which had constituted the cabinet of the 11th of October, 1832, and of their chief representatives, was necessary to the security of his throne and the success of his government, he would have employed to preserve or re-establish that union, his constancy and ingenuity; and, in all probability, he would have succeeded. But the King had no such conviction. He was disposed to think that he alone sufficed to insure the influence of sound policy; and when a question arose as to the formation or fall of cabinets, he sometimes yielded to his personal inclinations, to his prejudices or conveniences of the moment, much more than he would have done, if he had kept constantly in view the necessity of holding assembled and acting round him all the vital forces of his government. I have already said how and for what reasons he regarded the Duke de Broglie with more esteem and confidence than personal favour. When, on the question of the conversion of the funds, the ministerial crisis declared itself, various circumstances had aggravated this feeling, on the King's part. Some of the European diplomatists, amongst others, Prince

Metternich, and Baron Werther, Prussian minister at Paris, had had some trifling misunderstandings with the Duke de Broglie, which left on their minds a secret ill will against him. Prince Talleyrand, who, in his retirement, still preserved his habits of intimacy and influence with the King, had not forgotten his last difference with the Duke de Broglie, on the subject of the vague project of offensive and defensive alliance with England, and still cherished a degree of ill humour against him. From all these facts, there sprang up within the royal circle a daily language and impression little favourable to the duke. He was represented as often troublesome, sometimes compromising, and, in all cases, not indispensable. In March, 1835, the King was reluctantly induced to recall him to the department of Foreign Affairs. In February, 1836, he saw him leave it without regret.

M. Thiers, far from saying or doing anything that might estrange him from his colleagues in the cabinet—on the occasion of the conversion of the rentes, as on all others, firmly supported their common policy. He could neither be charged with concealed defection nor want of energy. He had acted with equal utility and loyalty. Still, he ever preserved some dread of being too intimately united with the doctrinarians, and took pains to abstract himself from them. The return of the Duke de Broglie in 1835, as president of the Council, had left on his mind an impression of contrariety and uneasiness, which had no influence on his conduct while the cabinet remained firm, but which disposed him to consider himself, after our fall, as disengaged from all ties, and free to

follow his own destiny alone. He was tired of the ministry of the Interior, and did not conceal his wish for the department of Foreign Affairs. At court, in the diplomatic world, and in the drawing-rooms, the politicians hostile to the Duke de Broglie, flattered this inclination of M. Thiers, and thus gratified their ill will towards the minister who displeased them by propitiating the favour of his successor. It would have required, on the part of M. Thiers, a profound conviction of the ties which united the cabinet of the 11th of October, and a strong resolution to maintain them against the various chances of fortune: this conviction and resolution were not to be found in M. Thiers, or in the King himself.

Whatever might be the issue, the crisis was imminent. The King set himself to work to form a Cabinet. He sent successively for M. Humann, M. Molé, Marshal Gérard, M. Dupin, M. Passy, and M. Sauzet. The three first formally declined the invitation. They thought several of the retired ministers necessary to the government, and did not feel themselves in a condition, either to retain them in a new cabinet, or to dispense with their co-operation. The three last, called together and at several repetitions to the Tuileries, declared themselves ready to serve the King and the country, but they declined to undertake, themselves, the formation of a ministry. They advised the King to commit this duty to the special charge of some political leader, who should become the president of the future cabinet, a part to which, as M. Dupin declared, they none of them pretended. The third party were little disposed to repeat the trial of the

ministry of three days. During these different interviews, the King eulogised the fallen cabinet, expressed the lively regret its resignation had occasioned him, and seemed not much disposed to adopt M. Dupin and his friends as its successors.

But it was round M. Thiers and in himself that the real efforts were made to re-construct a cabinet. It was upon him the King reckoned to maintain the old policy by a little softening its appearances, and to elude, or at least to adjourn the reduction of the funds, without refusing it for the moment, as decidedly as it had been rejected by the Duke de Broglie. Some influential persons at court, many deputies of the third party, and even of the opposition, urged M. Thiers to lend himself to this combination, and promised their support. M. de Talleyrand commended it loudly, in the diplomatic world and with the King, and with expressions, elegantly flattering, encouraged M. Thiers to undertake it. M. Thiers hesitated; he felt unwilling to separate from his old colleagues, and to adopt a policy different from theirs. He had experienced their loyalty and courage; he knew that, despite the clamours of party, they possessed consideration and influence in the country as in the Chambers; he could not foresee without uneasiness the disagreements that spring up and display themselves almost infallibly amongst men, when their functions become materially different. He made repeated efforts to induce M. Duchâtel to remain with him in the new cabinet; he offered to leave him the appointment of two ministers, and to propose to me the embassy in England. M. Duchâtel peremptorily refused. He would neither

accept for the policy hitherto carried on, an uncertain standard and allies, nor separate himself from his intimate friends. M. Thiers at length decided, and the "Moniteur," of the 22nd of February, 1836, announced the formation of the new cabinet. M. Thiers presided over it as minister for Foreign Affairs; three members of the preceding cabinet, Marshal Maison, Admiral Duperré and Count d'Argout retained their seats; three deputies of the third party, Messrs. Passy, Pelet de La Lozère, and Sauzet, entered as ministers of Trade, Public Instruction, and Justice; the Count de Montalivet, invested with the particular confidence of the King, and who had lately sustained with much courage the policy of resistance, received the ministry of the Interior.

On the day after the formation of the new cabinet was completed, and at the moment when it appeared in the "Moniteur," I received the following note from M. Thiers:—

"My dear Monsieur Guizot,—I had not time to tell you yesterday our definitve arrangement, for it was very late when we left the Tuileries. Events have separated us; but I hope they will allow the sentiments to continue, which have sprung from many years passed together in the same perils. If it depends on me, much of our union will remain, for we have still many services to render to the same cause, although placed in opposite situations. I shall do my best to effect this. I intend to call on you as soon as the necessities of the moment are satisfied."

I answered without delay:

"My dear Friend,—You have every reason to believe in the duration of the sentiments which such a long community of dangers and labours have inspired between us. I belong to the cause we have maintained together. I shall go wherever it calls me, and I reckon confidently on ever finding you there also. Adieu. I shall come and see you as soon as I think you can have a little leisure."

In every great human undertaking, there is one superior, dominant idea, which ought to be the fixed point, the guiding-star of those who are called to take a part in it. In 1832, through many difficulties of position, relative ties, habits, and character, such an idea presided over the formation of the cabinet on the 11th of October. Actors, advisers, or spectators, all who participated in the event, felt, at the time, that the unity and common action of men already experienced in the labour of monarchical and liberal government were the imperious conditions of its success. This sentiment surmounted all doubts and obstacles, and determined every conduct. A sentiment perfectly judicious and clear-sighted, for great enterprises and good causes have never miscarried but through the disunion of individuals and parties, who, at the bottom, entertained the same desires, and were devoted to the same object. This dominant idea, this great light of 1832, disappeared in 1836; and was extinguished by a most trifling agency, before a very secondary question, and through motives extremely trivial or personal. The conversion, more or less immediate, of the funds, was, assuredly, far below the value of the union of the persons who from 1830 had worked

together to establish the government. This was the fault of the epoch. The Revolution of 1830 had already narrowly restricted the circle and broken the ranks of the effective advisers of royalty under the constitutional system. The ministerial crisis of 1836 severed the coalition, which, through the influence of a lofty and provident idea, the crisis of 1830 had bound together.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

Report to the King.

Paris, Oct. 19th, 1832.

SIRE,

THE Government of July was called upon to understand, and has fully comprehended, the vast importance of elementary education. A powerful impulse has been given, and great results have been obtained. To secure and extend these, a particular institution appears to me indispensable. I mean a periodical publication, to collect and communicate all that may assist in the improvement of schools and the instruction of the people.

Very few elementary tutors, in the normal schools recently established, have acquired the secret of sound methods and principles in national education. Those who spring from these schools, require to be directed in their studies and their efforts. Without this guide, their zeal declines, and speedily a cheerless routine becomes their last resource. Thus ignorance establishes and propagates itself through the very organs intended to overthrow it; and the sacrifices made by the state, the departments, and the townships, produce no fruit.

Our new institutions, moreover, and particularly that of local committees, call to the superintendence of the schools, citizens totally unprepared by special studies for the accomplishment of this mission. It is a material sacrifice on their part, to take from their personal interests and affairs a certain portion of time for the charge confided to them. The authority which appoints them is, therefore, bound to supply specific instructions, so as to render this superintendence easier to themselves and really effective for the schools, of which it is the object.

To supply this want, general theories are far from being sufficient. There must be precise indications and repeated advice. On the subject of education, every day brings to light a new book or a fresh method. The country may congratulate itself on this; but these inventions and experiments require to be appreciated with knowledge and independence. Valuable reports, full of facts and sound views, drawn up by the Committees, the Inspectors, the Rectors, the Mayors, and the Prefects, remain unknown to the public. The Government ought to charge itself with the knowledge and expansion of all good systems, with the encouragement of all favouring efforts, and with the attempt to improve them.

According to our present habits and institutions, one channel alone embraces sufficient action and power to secure this salutary influence: that channel is the Press.

I suggest, therefore, to your Majesty, to authorize, in principle, the publication of a periodical collection, for the use of elementary schools in every degree.

This collection should comprise:—1. The publication of all documents relative to popular instruction in France. 2. The publication of everything bearing upon elementary education in the principal countries of the civilized world. 3. An analysis of works on elementary education. 4. Rules and directions calculated to advance the progress of such instruction in every part of the kingdom.

To secure all desirable guarantees, this publication should be intrusted to a high functionary of the University, under the direction of the Royal Council.

The important truth ought to be deeply impressed on this functionary,—that if institutions regulate the destiny of peoples, habits make national institutions; and that the firmest basis of social order, is the moral training of youth.

He will also understand that habits attach themselves to religious convictions, and that the action of conscience cannot be replaced by any other agency. The most flourishing and effective schools of the present day are to be found in Holland, in Germany, and in Scotland; and in all these countries religion is inseparably associated with elementary education, lending to it the most powerful aid.

France, Sire, will not remain in rear of these examples. She will learn how to reconcile profound convictions with rapidly-advancing knowledge, and influential habits with liberal institutions. It is the mission of national education to secure these brilliant results. The institution for which I have the honour to solicit the approbation of your Majesty, appears to me one of the most desirable methods of leading to their completion.

I am, with profound respect, Sire,
Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient,
and most faithful servant and subject,
The Minister-Secretary of State for the
Department of Public Instruction,
GUIZOT.

Approved: LOUIS-PHILIPPE.

No. II.

(Page 73.)

Circular addressed on the 18*th of July*, 1833, *to all Elementary Tutors, when transmitting to them the Act of the* 28*th of June*, 1833.

Paris, July 18*th*, 1833.

Sir,

I send you herewith the law of the 28th of June last, on elementary education; together with a statement of the reasons that led to its enactment, when, in obedience to the orders of the King, I had the honour of presenting it, on the 2nd of January, to the Chamber of Deputies.

This law is, in reality, the charter of elementary education; and for that reason I am anxious that it should directly reach the knowledge, and remain in the possession of every tutor. If you study it carefully, and reflect with attention on its provisions, as well as on the motives which develop its true spirit, you may be assured of thoroughly comprehending your duties and privileges, together with the new position assigned to you by our institutions.

Do not deceive yourself. Although the career of an elementary teacher may be unostentatious; although his life and labours may, for the most part, be consumed within the boundary of a single township,—those labours interest society at large, and his profession participates in the importance of public duties. It is not for a particular district, or for any interest exclusively local, that the law desires every Frenchman to acquire, if possible, the knowledge indispensable to social existence, without which, intelligence

languishes, and sometimes becomes brutified. The law is for the state at large, and for the public advantage; and because liberty can neither be assured nor regular, except with a people sufficiently enlightened to listen, under all circumstances, to the voice of reason. Universal elementary education will become henceforward a guarantee for order and social stability. As all the principles of our government are sound and rational, to develop intellect and propagate light, is to confirm the empire and durability of our constitutional monarchy.

Convince yourself, therefore, of the importance of your mission; let its utility be ever present to your thoughts, in the unremitting labours it imposes on you. You will see that legislation and government are strenuously exerting themselves to ameliorate the condition and secure the future of the tutors. In the first place, the free exercise of their profession, throughout the entire kingdom, is assured to them, while the right of teaching can neither be refused nor withdrawn from those who show themselves capable and worthy of such a mission. Every township is bound, moreover, to open an asylum for elementary education. To every commercial school a master is promised. To every commercial tutor a fixed salary is appointed. A special and variable gratuity will increase this allowance. A mode of collection, conformable at the same time to your dignity and your interests, facilitates the recovery of this, without trenching, in other respects, on the liberty of private engagements. By the institution of savings' banks resources are provided for the old age of the masters. From their youth, dispensation from military service, proves to them the interest with which they are regarded by society. In the performance of their duties they are subject only to enlightened and disinterested authorities. Their lives are sheltered from arbitrary power and persecution. Finally, the approbation of their legitimate superiors will encourage their

good conduct, and establish their success; and in some instances, even, a brilliant reward, which their modest ambition could never anticipate, may prove to them that the King's government watches over their services and knows how to honour them.

At the same time I am fully aware that the foresight of the law, and the resources yielded by power, can never render the simple profession of a country tutor as attractive as it is useful. Society is unable to repay to those who devote themselves to these duties, all the advantages they impart. They cannot make fortunes, and can scarcely win renown under the painful obligations they encounter. Destined to see their lives pass on in monotonous labours, occasionally exposed to injustice, ingratitude, and ignorance, they would often despond, and break down perhaps, if they did not derive strength and courage from other sources than the prospect of immediate and purely personal interests. A profound sentiment of the moral importance of their efforts, can alone sustain and animate them. The austere gratification of having served their fellow-men, and of secretly contributing to the public good, will constitute the noble salary that conscience only can bestow. It will be their glory to assume nothing beyond that obscure and painstaking condition, to exhaust themselves in sacrifices scarcely valued by those who profit by them, to labour, in fact, for the advantage of man, and to expect their reward from God alone.

It is also manifest that wherever elementary education has prospered, a religious sentiment has been combined, in those who propagate it, with the taste for enlightenment and instruction. May you, sir, find in these hopes and in their convictions worthy of a sound intellect and a pure heart, an amount of satisfaction and constancy which, perhaps, renown and patriotism alone might fail to bestow.

Viewed in this light, the numerous and varied duties con-

fided to you will appear more easy and agreeable, and will exercise superior empire over your mind. Allow me to recall and impress them on you. Henceforward, on becoming a district teacher, you belong to public instruction. The title you bear, conferred by the minister, is placed under his safeguard. The University claims you; while superintending, it protects and admits you to a proportion of the privileges which render teaching a species of magistracy. But the new character with which you are invested authorizes me to retrace the engagements you contract on receiving it. My right of interference is not limited to a recital of the laws and regulations you are scrupulously to observe; it extends to establishing and maintaining the principles which ought to govern the moral conduct of the tutor, and the violation of which would compromise the very dignity of the body to which he may henceforward belong. It is not enough, in fact, to respect the text of the laws; interest alone would compel so much, for they revenge themselves on those who infringe them; but beyond and above this, it is necessary to prove by conduct that their moral value is understood, that the order they are instituted to maintain is voluntarily and sincerely acknowledged, and that even in default of legal enactment, conscience would supply a power as holy and coercive.

Your first duties, sir, are towards the children confided to your care. The tutor is called by the father of a family to a participation of his natural authority. It becomes him to exercise it with the same vigilance, and almost with the same affection. Not only are the life and health of the child referred to his keeping, but the training of its heart and understanding almost entirely depend on him.

As regards teaching, properly so called, nothing will be wanting that can assist you. A normal school will supply you with lessons and examples; special committees will transmit to you regularly useful instructions, and the Univer-

sity itself will maintain with you a constant correspondence. The King has warmly sanctioned the publication of a journal exclusively applicable to elementary education. I will take care that this *general manual* shall spread in all quarters, together with the official acts that concern you, a knowledge of the best systems, endeavours, and practical ideas that the schools require; a comparison of the results obtained in France and in foreign countries; and, in fine, a summary of all that can direct zeal, facilitate success, and encourage emulation.

But on the point of moral education, I must trust much to yourself. Nothing can supply your own natural inclination to do well. You are aware that herein, beyond all doubt, lies the most important and difficult part of your mission. You must feel that in confiding to you a child, every family calls upon you to make him an honest man, while the state expects a useful citizen. You know that virtues do not always accompany knowledge, and that the lessons imprinted on the infant understanding may become pernicious if addressed to intelligence alone. Let the tutor therefore have no fear of interfering with family rights, by bestowing his first cares on the internal culture of the minds of his pupils. He must be equally cautious not to open his school to the spirit of sect or party, or to instil into the scholars any religious or political doctrines which may place them, as it were, in opposition to the authority of domestic councils; he should therefore rise beyond the passing quarrels which disturb society, to apply himself incessantly to the propagation and establishment of those imperishable principles of morality and reason without which univeral order is imperilled; and to the deep implanting into young hearts of those seeds of virtue and honour, which age and passion cannot afterwards eradicate. Faith in Providence, the sanctity of duty, submission to paternal authority, respect to the laws, to the sovereign, and to the common rights of all;—such are the

sentiments the teacher must labour to develop. Never let him, either by conversation or example incur the risk of undermining in his pupils the feeling of veneration for worth, never by expressions of hatred or revenge let him incline them to those blind prejudices which create national enemies in the bosom of the nation itself. The peace and concord he will maintain in his school, ought if possible, to prepare the tranquillity and union of future generations.

The relations between the teacher and the parents ought to be frequent, and cordial. If he does not possess the good will of the families, his authority over the children will be compromised, and the fruit of his lessons lost. He cannot therefore be too prudent and careful in these communications. An intimacy lightly formed might endanger his independence, and sometimes even involve him in those local discussions which so frequently embarrass small communities. While listening complacently to the reasonable demands of relatives, he must take care not to sacrifice his principles of education and the discipline of his school to their capricious desires. A school should represent the asylum of equality, or, to speak correctly, of justice.

The duties of the teacher towards constituted authority are even clearer and not less important. He is himself an authority in his township. How then could he set an example of insubordination? How could he do otherwise than respect the municipal magistrates, the religious directors, the legal powers who maintain public security? What a future would he prepare for the population in the midst of which he lives, if by his ill conduct or mischievous conversation, he were to ferment amongst his pupils that disposition to find fault with and condemn everything, which may hereafter ripen into an instrument of immorality and anarchy!

The Mayor is the chief of the township, the head of local superintendence. It is therefore the pressing duty as well as the interest of the teacher to treat him on all occasions with

the deference to which he is entitled. The parish priest and pastor also demand respect, for their ministry involves the most elevated feelings of human nature. If it should so happen that the minister of religion, by some fatality, were to withhold just cordiality from the teacher, the latter assuredly is not called upon to humiliate himself to regain his good opinion, but he should endeavour with increased assiduity to merit it by his conduct, and wait confidently for the result. Let the success of his school disarm unjust prejudices, let his own prudence remove every pretext for intolerance. Hypocrisy is to be avoided as much as impiety. Nothing can be more desirable than a perfect understanding between the clergyman and the schoolmaster; both are invested with moral authority, and can act in concert to exercise over youth, a common influence through different means. Such co-operation well deserves mutual sacrifices for its accomplishment; and I expect from your acquirements and wisdom every honourable effort to realize this result, without which our efforts for popular instruction would too often prove unavailing.

In conclusion, I have no occasion to dwell on your relations with the special authorities which watch over the schools, and with the University itself. You will obtain from them general advice, all necessary directions, and frequently a support against local difficulties and incidental enmity. The administration has no other interests than those of elementary education, which are, in fact, your own. It only requires of you to understand thoroughly and progressively the spirit of your mission. While, on its part, it will carefully protect your rights, your interests, and your future, do you, in turn, maintain by unremitting vigilance the dignity of your position. Do not disorder it by unseasonable speculations, or by employments incompatible with instruction. Keep your eyes fixed on every possible method of improving the instruction you disperse around you. Assistance will not

be wanting. In the greater number of large towns, advanced classes are opened; in the normal schools, places are reserved for such tutors as may feel desirous of going there to improve their teaching. Every day it becomes easier for you to obtain, at a trifling cost, a library sufficient for your requirements. Finally, in some districts and cantons, conferences have already been established between the teachers. By these means, they can unite their common experience and encourage each other by mutual aid.

At the moment when, under the auspices of a new legislation, you are about to enter on a new career, when elementary education is destined to become the object of the most extensive practical experience that has ever yet been attempted in our country, I have felt it my duty to detail to you the principles which govern the administration of public instruction, and the hopes founded on your exertions. I rely on your utmost endeavours to insure the success of our common undertaking. Confide ever in the protection of government, in its constant and active solicitude for the precious interests committed to your charge. The universality of elementary education is, in its estimate, one of the most urgent and leading consequences of our Charter, which it ardently longs to realize. On this question, as on every other, France will always find a perfect accordance between the spirit of the Charter and the wishes of the King.

Receive, sir, the assurance of my high consideration,

&c. &c. &c.

No. III.

(Page 75.)

Circular addressed on the 13th of August, 1835, by M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction, to the Inspectors of Elementary Schools, instituted by a decree of the King, of the 26th of February, 1835.

Mr. Inspector,

The King, by his decree of the 26th of February last, has summarily arranged the duties that are confided to you; and the Royal Council of Public Instruction, by a statute of the 27th of the same month, to which I have given my approbation, has regulated in a more explicit manner the exercise of those functions.

The Rector of the academy to which you belong, is instructed to communicate to you these two acts, which will form your fundamental rule. But at the moment of your entering on office, I find it necessary to explain to you precisely, and in its entire extent, the mission with which you are intrusted and the full amount of what I expect from your efforts.

The law of the 28th of June, 1833, has nominated the authorities called on to co-operate in its execution. All these authorities, the Rectors, the Prefects, and the Committees, have received from me detailed instructions which have regulated their progress. I have to congratulate myself on their cordial spirit and zeal, and important results have already proved the efficacy of their labours. Nevertheless, at the moment of the promulgation of the law, all enlightened

minds have foreseen that the action of these different authorities would be insufficient to attain the proposed end. The propagation and superintendence of elementary education is a task at once extremely extensive, and loaded with an infinity of minute details. It becomes, therefore, essential to act and look narrowly in every direction. Neither the Rectors, nor the Prefects, nor the Committees can thoroughly accomplish such a work.

Placed at the head of a very expanded circumscription, the Rectors would be unable to give to the numerous elementary schools included therein, the special and precise attention they require; they could not pay frequent visits to the schools, enter unexpectedly into those of the rural districts as well as of the towns, and rekindle amongst them, by their presence, regularity and life. They are compelled to limit themselves to general instructions, and to a distant correspondence. They administer elementary education, but are quite incapable of verifying its actual effect.

Secondary education, and the great establishment connected with it, form moreover, an essential object of their attention. This is the almost inevitable result of the nature of their personal studies, and of the general system of public instruction for which they were originally appointed. Their authority and superior inspection are indispensable to elementary education; but they cannot be called upon or expected to devote themselves exclusively to that branch.

As regards the Prefects, they have already rendered, and are constantly required to render, the most important services to elementary education, which connects itself closely with public administration, and assumes a place in the budget of every township. It has, in fact, in each department, its particular budget, presented by the Prefect every year to the general council, and adds very frequently to the public labours included in the aggregate of administration. The active and willing co-operation of the Prefects is therefore

essential, not only to the first institution, but to the permanent prosperity of the schools. But, at the same time, it is evident that the Prefects, occupied more immediately with the cares of general administration, and unacquainted with the special studies required by elementary education, are not in a condition to direct it.

The intervention of Committees in the schools is more direct and near. They bear materially, whenever they are inclined to exert influence, on their steady maintenance and prosperity. But they, too, cannot be expected to accomplish all that is required. Called together only at distant intervals, to devote themselves to labours beyond the circle of their daily avocations, the distinguished individuals of whom they are partly composed can scarcely be expected to carry into the superintendence of elementary education, the constant and regulated activity which belongs exclusively to permanent administration; or the intimate knowledge of the subject which can only be acquired by studying it specially and as a profession. If the Committees were abolished, or if they neglected to fulfil the duties assigned to them by the law, elementary education would suffer much in consequence; for it would remain too much estranged from all communion with the leading persons of each locality; or rather, from the public, whose influence would cease to penetrate sufficiently into the schools: but it would be a grievous error to suppose that this influence is all that is required. Elementary education demands the action of a special authority, appointed by the state, to watch over its prosperity.

The law of the 28th of June has only been in operation for two years, and already experience has demonstrated the truth of the considerations to which I am now directing your attention. Rectors, Prefects, and Committees have all contributed to the application of the law, not only active good will, and the interest we have ever a right to expect from them; but, in addition, the ardour which naturally attaches itself

to every great and new improvement sanctioned by the public. At the same time, the more closely I have followed and watched their action and its results, the more I have satisfied myself that it is far from being sufficient, and that it would be deceiving ourselves with appearances to believe that with these means alone we can effect, I will not say all the good that is possible, but even what is absolutely necessary.

I have perceived also, and all enlightened administrators are impressed with the same conviction, that in spite of their equal good will, and their anxiety to act in harmony, the co-operation of these different authorities, in the direction of elementary education, may sometimes give rise to injurious hesitation and collision; that a permanent tie is wanting between them, a prompt and easy method of conferring reciprocal information, of connecting and carrying out, each in his own sphere, his peculiar functions, while leading all to converge without loss of time or labour to the common end.

To fill up these gaps, to accomplish for the interest of elementary education what none of these different authorities engaged in the object can effect, to supply a link connecting these authorities together, to facilitate their mutual relations, and to prevent any clashing of duties with the consequent inactivity and embarrassment;—such, Mr. Inspector, is the true character of your proposed mission. Other powers will operate simultaneously with yours, in the department confided to you. Yours alone is special and entirely appropriated to a single function. The Rector, the Prefect, and the members of Committees are occupied, for the most part, with other cares. You alone, in the department, are the representative of elementary education; you have no other concern, and its prosperity will constitute your glory. It is enough to say, that you belong to it entirely, and that you are bound to make yourself acquainted with everything in which the question is interested.

Your first obligation, therefore, will be, to render on all occasions, to the different authorities who take part in elementary education, the most devoted aid. Whatever may be the labours in which you can second them, hold them ever in honour, and promote them with the same zeal that characterizes the performance of your more immediate duties. I cannot here enumerate in advance all these labours, and after the general recommendation I now address to you, I trust that such a detail would be unnecessary. Nevertheless, I feel bound to indicate some of the objects, upon which I specially invite you to place your zeal and exertions at the disposal of the Rectors, Prefects, and Committees.

On the 31st of July, 1834, I announced to the Prefects that the Inspectors of elementary schools would co-operate in preparing the tables relative to the expenses of the communal establishments,—tables hitherto drawn up by the united care of these magistrates and the Rectors. On the 20th of April last, I communicated the same information to the Rectors.

The researches imposed on the bureaux of Prefecture, with this object, often absorb the time belonging to other affairs of equal urgency, and this complication may prove injurious to the correctness of the work. On the other hand, the staff of the bureaux of the academies is too limited to enable the Rectors to take charge of the portion of these tables assigned to them. You are better able than anyone else to draw up these returns, which henceforth will be included in your avocations. The register of the list of tutors which you are to keep, the appointments, dismissals, and recent changes, of which full knowledge will be transmitted to you; your inspections, the examination of the resolutions of municipal councils, as well as of the commercial budgets communicated from the bureaux of Prefecture, will supply you with the necessary elements to arrange correctly this table, the outlines of which will be thus transmitted to you, and will make

you acquainted with the names of the tutors in actual office on the 1st of January in each year, with their salaries, with the expenses of hiring school-houses, and the amount of allowance for lodgings to the teachers; finally, with the amount of the communal and departmental funds, and of the sums assigned by the state for the payment of these expenses.

You will submit this table to the verification of the Prefect, who will be instructed to forward it to me within the first fifteen days of the month of January.

You will follow the same course with respect to the changes that may occur within each quarter amongst the tutors. This list will be drawn up by you and remitted to the Prefect, who will forward it to me within fifteen days after the expiration of the quarter referred to.

You will cause to be sent to you the budgets of expense of the district committees, and of the boards of elementary education, and you will transmit them, with your own observations, to the Rectors.

The service of elementary education requires a certain number of printed papers, which are distributed in small quantities through the departments. To diminish the expenses, which would fall on each department if the Prefects were obliged to prepare these documents, I have decided that they shall be furnished to every district from the royal printing-office, to be repaid from the funds voted by the general council. These papers will be addressed to the Inspectors, who will see that they are forwarded to the proper quarters.

A regulation, touching the accounts of the expenses of elementary education, in which the part assigned in this labour to the Inspectors of schools will be distinctly settled, will be forwarded without delay to the Rectors and Prefects.[1]

A Statute I am now preparing will regulate in like

[1] The service of the accounts belonging to elementary education is at this moment settled by the Circular of the 31st of July, 1834.

manner the duties of the Inspectors of elementary schools with regard to the savings' banks about to be established.[1]

I come now to your personal duties, in which you will be called upon, equally, to co-operate with other authorities, and to act by yourself and alone, under the direction of the Rector and Prefect. Your first care must be, as prescribed by Article 1 of the Statute of the 27th of February, to prepare every year a table of the schools in your jurisdiction, each of which must form the object of a special visit. It would be a complete misunderstanding of the intent of this arrangement, to seek therein merely an excuse for negligence, or a permission to select from amongst the schools submitted to your inspection, those which promise the readiest success and the least fatigue. Be careful not to imagine that it will suffice for you to visit the most important establishments, such as the schools of the head towns of the district or canton. In principle, every school in the department has a right to your annual visit; but that visit ought not to reduce itself to a mere formality, a rapid and profitless glance. Article 1 of the Statute has provided for the contingency, unhappily too frequent, under which the extent of your jurisdiction might render it impossible for you to complete an annual inspection, personally and deliberately of every school. In the selection that you may be compelled to make, undoubtedly the town schools will find their place; but I do not hesitate specially to direct your solicitude to the country seminaries. Placed in the midst of a more active population, nearer to the committees that govern them, under the conduct of more experienced masters, encouraged and animated by competition, the town schools find in their position alone effectual sources of prosperity. It will be easy for you, moreover, to visit them incidentally, when other matters lead you to the places in which they are situated. But the

[1] See Article 15 of the Act, page 301.

establishments which above all others ought to be the objects of your persevering and systematically organized superintendence, are the schools which the law of the 28th of June has given birth to in the rural districts, far from the resources of civilization, and under the guidance of less practised masters. To these, above all others, your visits are essential, and will be really advantageous. When they see that neither distance, nor inclement seasons, nor bad roads, nor the obscurity of their names, deter you from interesting yourself warmly in that population, and that you bring them the benefit of the instruction in which they are deficient,—naturally industrious, temperate, and rational, they will conceive towards you a true sentiment of gratitude, they will of themselves attach much importance to your labours, and will hasten to contribute, for the advancement of rural schools, their modest but sincere assistance.

In preparing the table of the schools that you will have to visit specially, you must be careful to consult beforehand with the Rector and the Prefect, to the end that none which may appear to them to merit particular attention, may be omitted from the list. You will consult each year the report of your preceding inspection; and for the next ensuing, which will recommence your labours, I will take care that the Rector of the academy shall remit to you the report of the inspectors, extraordinarily appointed, in 1833, to visit the schools of your department. You will find in the bureaux of the Prefecture the states which the committees were ordered to draw up on the situation of the elementary schools in 1834. You will study carefully the observations contained in these various labours, and according to the condition of the schools at that epoch, it will be easy for you to distinguish those which require at present your earliest visit. The reports of the committees transmitted by you to the Rector, and of which you have also previously informed yourself, will assist in fixing your determination. Finally,

Article 19 of the Decree of the 16th of July, 1833, having instructed me to prepare every year a state of the townships that have no school-houses, and also of those which have them not in sufficient number, or in convenient localities,—this state was drawn up at the commencement of 1834 by the care of the district committees, and is deposited at the Prefecture. You will take care to acquaint yourself with it before your departure, that you may be able to prepare with greater accuracy a similar state for 1835, according to the series of questions, and the model I shall send to you, with that object. You will also deposit, in the Prefecture, after your inspection, the result of your local visits, and the information you have collected from the committees.

To combine all the elements that the drawing up of this state will require, you will find it necessary to visit all the townships of your department, even those where there are at present no teachers; you will place them in your itinerary, in such manner as you may consider most convenient, to enable you to estimate promptly the position of affairs in this respect, and to insure the execution of the law.

With regard to the time when your inspection should take place, I cannot prescribe to you, in that particular, any precise or general rule. Undoubtedly it would be desirable that every period of the year should show the schools to the Inspector equally filled, and that they should only be abandoned during the vacations arranged by the statutes. Such is the spirit of the law, and the right belonging to the townships which secure an annual salary to the teacher; and you cannot too strongly exercise your influence, on this point, in contesting the injurious habits of families. But before they have finally opened their eyes to their true interests, and for a long time in the country, the recurrence of rustic labour will draw away the children from their school tasks; and here, perhaps, there arises a difficulty from the very position of the working classes which we can scarcely hope to sur-

mount entirely. Be this as it may, in the existing position of affairs, autumn and winter are the true seasons for the schools, and you will scarcely make profitable visits during the spring, and more particularly during the summer, except to the urban establishments, which are less exposed than the others to these vexatious emigrations.

Neither would it be suitable to select for the epoch of your departure the exact moment when the cessation of rustic toil gives the children the first signal for returning to their classes. To estimate correctly the teaching of the masters and the progress of the pupils, you must wait until some weeks of regular practice has enabled the tutor to bring his system once more into play, and to awaken in the children the aptitude and intellectual pliability which are so easily blunted by six months of rude and coarse labour.

As far as it is possible to determine beforehand, and in a general manner, as a limit, of course subject to so many particular circumstances, I am inclined to think that for the rural schools, the ordinary duties of your inspection should commence towards the middle of the month of November. With respect to the town schools, it will be much more easy for you to select, during the course of the year, the convenient moment for your visit. For the rest, I refer you on this point to the information you will yourself collect in your department, and to the advice you will receive from the different authorities.

When you have thus arranged the table of the schools that are to be included in your annual visit, and fixed the period of your departure, when you have received from the Rector and the Prefect particular instructions on the questions which their ordinary correspondence may not have sufficiently elucidated; when your proposed itinerary has received their approbation, you will then apprize the committees, whom you will also endeavour to keep informed as to the general ideas by which the superior administration is

directed. It is most particularly on this point that the local committees are apt to deceive themselves. The very desire of improvement sometimes leads them astray. Living within a restricted horizon, and unable to draw comparisons, they suffer themselves to be readily misled by assurances of progress emanating from frivolous charlatanry, and thus fall into attempts at unhappy innovations. It is by making the committees thoroughly understand the views of administration that you will fortify them against this danger, and without offending local circumstances, you will maintain in the system of elementary education the unity and regularity which constitute its strength.

You will almost invariably encounter in every committee one or two members more sedulously occupied with the schools than the rest, and animated by an exclusive zeal. There is scarcely a small town, or a population slightly condensed, in which you will not find men of this stamp; but they often become discouraged, either from the coldness of their associates, or the indifference of the higher authorities. Seek carefully for such men, honour their zeal, request them to accompany you to the schools, neglect nothing to convince them of the gratitude felt towards them by the government. It would be a grievous error not to conciliate and draw round us in every locality persons so well disposed, active, and disinterested. Nothing can fill the place of the movement they excite about them, and the strength they contribute to administration when properly encouraged and supported.

Independently of the committees, in every township you visit you will have to deal with the civil and religious authorities who intervene in the schools; with the mayors, the municipal councils, the parish priests and the pastors. Your good relations with all these parties are of the utmost importance to the advance of elementary instruction. Do not hesitate to enter into long conversations with them on

the condition and interests of the township; receive all the information they are willing to afford you; give them, in return, on the various measures they may have to adopt for the interest of their school, all the explanations and instructions they may desire; appeal to family sentiments, and to the interests and feelings of domestic life. Such, within the modest horizon of communal activity, are the most powerful and moral agencies that can be called into play.

Most especially, I recommend you to establish a cordial understanding with the parish priests and pastors. Use your best endeavours to convince them that it is not from mere convenience, and to display an empty respect, that the law of the 28th of June has inscribed moral and religious culture at the head of the objects of elementary education. We follow up sincerely and seriously the end indicated by these words, and we shall struggle to the utmost limits of our power to re-establish in the minds of the young the authority of religion. Believe truly that in placing this confidence in its ministers, and in confirming it by your habitual conduct and conversation, you will secure, in nearly every quarter, the most useful ally that popular education can win over.

I shall invite the Prefects to issue the necessary orders for the convocation of the municipal councils in all the townships you may have to visit.[1]

[1] The circular of the 13th of August, 1835, to the Prefects, contains the following paragraph:—

"During his circuit of the different townships, the Inspector of elementary schools will have to hold frequent conferences with the municipal councils, to explain to them the necessity of establishing schools in the townships where there are none at present, to impress on them the advantages, and to point out the means of having a school-house in property, in those localities which possess them not, and to make observations to them on the assessment of the monthly contribution, and on drawing up the list of those pupils who, not being able to pay their quota, must be admitted to the elementary school without charge. I request you, Mr. Prefect, to authorize the mayors, when announcing to them the entry into his duties of the Inspector of elementary schools, to assemble the municipal council as often as that functionary shall require them to do so."

[The

With regard to the interior inspection of the schools, I can only give you very general instructions, such as are already comprised in Articles 2 and 3 of the Statute of the 27th of February. You must judge for yourself, in each locality, how you are to conduct it, what questions you are to put to enable you to ascertain and estimate the conduct of the school, the merit of the master's system, and the progressive instruction of the pupils. I merely suggest to you never to be satisfied with a superficial and hasty examination: by such you will not only mislead the administration with incorrect and deceitful ideas, but you will compromise your own character and influence with the immediate assistants. Nothing reflects so much discredit on authority as appearances of inattention and hurry, for all the world seeks then to hide from it what it most requires to know, or to confound the knowledge it already possesses.

I recommend you, in your communications with the masters, even in the bosom of the school, to say or do nothing that can impair the respect and confidence entertained towards them by the scholars. To nourish and develop these sentiments ought to be the principal object of education, and of all who co-operate in its advancement. Collect from the masters all the particulars they can supply, and give them in return whatever information you may deem necessary; but when you leave the school, never let the teacher feel himself weakened or depreciated in the estimation of his pupils and their parents.

The results of your annual inspection will be inserted in the tables, the forms of which I shall order to be transmitted to you. The statistical facts connected with the townships

---

The elementary Inspectors are fully qualified to explain to the mayors, and to the municipal councils which admit them to their sittings, every possible requirement of elementary education, as well for girls as for boys, and to solicit, in consequence, such funds as these councils can appropriate. (Resolution of the 18th of October, 1836.)

and schools included in your visitation will also be inscribed there, according to the information conveyed to you through the local committees. A special column will be opened in the table on the condition of the schools, to receive your observations as to the capacity, aptitude, zeal, and moral conduct of the tutors. I request you to fill this up very carefully, at the time of visiting each school, before the impressions you have received can be altered or effaced.

The returns of the condition of the elementary schools divided into as many copies as there are district committees in the department, will be transmitted in quadruplicate in the month of January to each committee, who will insert their own observations, and thus forward one despatch to the Rector, another to the Prefect, and a third to the Minister. The fourth will be deposited in their archives.

Such general observations as may be intended to acquaint me with the existing state of elementary education in the whole of the department, its various wants, the difficulties which retard its progress in particular places, the means of improvement, and finally, all the facts which cannot be inserted in the specific return of its actual condition;—these you are to include in the annual report you are required to furnish by Article 9 of the Statute of the 27th of February, which you will forward to the Rector and the Prefect, who will remit it to me with their own remarks.

Next to the communal elementary schools which form the leading object of your mission, the other establishments of primary instruction, and particularly the normal schools, and the superior elementary schools, the halls of refuge, and the adult schools, must claim your earnest attention.

On the two first classes of these establishments, I have little to add to the provisions of Articles 4 and 5 of the Statute of the 27th of February. I suggest to you, merely, in what concerns the superior elementary schools, to neglect nothing that can promote their formation in the townships

in which they ought to exist. These establishments are intended to satisfy the wants of instruction in a numerous and influential population, for which simple elementary education is insufficient, and classical knowledge would be useless. In requiring from you annually a special and detailed report upon each superior elementary school, the Statute of the 27th of February indicates the importance attached to these establishments. As soon as I have acquired, from the experiments already attempted in that class, more ample information, I shall forward to you particular instructions.

You cannot bestow too much attention on the elememtary normal school of your department, or observe too closely the system of its working. Preserve the most intimate relations you can establish with its conductor: on him and you depends the destiny of elementary education in the department. You will be instructed to watch and direct, in every locality, the masters he has trained in the lessons of that school. Your mutual understanding, the clearness of your views, and the harmony of your respective influence, are indispensable to insure mutual success. Your position calls upon both to establish a true fraternity of thoughts and efforts. Let it be real, and animated by a profound conviction of your common duties. The task of each will thus be lightened, and your action rendered much more effectual.

Whenever you may have to communicate instrutions to the director of the normal school, when you think it necessary to give him advice or to make observations on the progress of his establishment, do this with all the delicacy that your relative position requires. If you should remark that he either slights your suggestions or ideas, you can call for the interference of the Rector or Prefect, according as the question may involve teaching, or some administrative fact dependent on the general government.

The halls of refuge and adult schools are on the increase;

but still these establishments are not yet sufficiently numerous or so regularly organized as to enable me, at this moment, to give you, as regards them, the full instructions you may require. They will reach you at a later period.

The private schools are also placed under your inspection. Without exercising over them the systematic superintendence you extend to the communal seminaries, you must not neglect to visit them from time to time, and particularly in the towns where they are numerous and influential. In these visits you will not make the system of teaching the particular object of your attention; it is natural that private establishments should exercise, in this particular, all the liberty that belongs to them; but you will bestow full attention on the conduct and moral state of these schools; this being the urgent interest of families and the duty of public authority. The masters who conduct them have also legal obligations to fulfil, the accomplishment of which you must ascertain.

The information you collect respecting the private schools, will also be included in the returns on the condition of elementary education.

It remains now for me to speak of certain personal duties which are equally intrusted to you, and which, although they have nothing to do with the inspection of the schools, are not the less of the highest importance to elementary education in general.

The first is your participation in the labours of the commission, appointed in virtue of Article 25 of the law of the 28th of June, 1833, and which is charged with the examination of all candidates for warrants of capacity, as well as with the inaugural and retiring examinations at the end of each year, of the teachers trained in the normal elementary schools of the department.

On the labours of these commissions, as much almost as on any other agency, depends, perhaps, the future destiny of

elementary education. The vice of the greater portion of examinations, with us, is that they degenerate into a trifling formality, or that the complaisance of the examining professor covers the deficiency of the candidate. We thus adopt, on the one hand, a practice injurious to society, by declaring those capable who are insufficient, and on the other, of treating lightly the legal enactments, and of converting them into a sort of official falsehood, which establishes an outrage against morals equally serious. I trust that these commissions on elementary education will not fall into a similar error. You are especially called upon to guard against this. The examinations committed to them ought to be very serious, and really calculated to test the capacity of the candidates. Never forget, and constantly remind the members of the commissions amongst whom you will have the honour of sitting, that, provided with their diplomas of capability, the tutors admitted by them may present themselves everywhere, and obtain from the confidence of the townships the care of bestowing elementary instruction on generations that will receive no other light.

As to the extent to which it may be considered desirable to carry these examinations, that must be regulated by the provisions of the law itself, which determines the objects of primary and superior elementary education. The candidates often endeavour to attach much value to acquirements apparently of a very varied quality: be careful not to fall into that snare. Require always, as an absolute condition, solid information on the matters which really constitute elementary education. Undoubtedly, credit must be given to the candidates for the knowledge they may possess beyond that boundary; but these accomplishments must never be suffered to cover any deficiency within the circumference of the prescribed circle.

I cannot too strongly urge you to give to the report you will have to address to me every session, on the proceedings

of the commissions of examination, your most scrupulous attention.

Article 7 of the Statute of the 27th of February calls upon you also to be present, as often as you can, at the conferences of the tutors, which will be duly authorized in your department. I propose, in proportion as these conferences multiply, to collect, as regards them, every particular of importance, and to forward to you, on their conduct and mode of regulation, particular instructions. Meanwhile, you will take care that such meetings confine themselves to their immediate business. Either from chimerical pretensions, or even less excusable views, it is possible that attempts might be made, in some places, to introduce questions which ought to be utterly banished. Elementary education would not only be compromised, but prevented, from the day when political passions are suffered to intrude. It is, like religion, essentially a stranger to all such objects, and solely devoted to the development of individual morality and the maintenance of social order.

In calling upon you to give your considerate opinion upon all propositions of assistance and encouragement of every kind in favour of elementary education, and to calculate the result of the allocations accorded for that object, Article 8 of the statute of the 27th of February imposes on you a labour of minute character, but of great utility. Too often, encouragements and aids are granted somewhat at hazard, and subsequently handed over to an additional chance, that of execution. It is indispensable that government, in granting these supplies, should know well what it undertakes, and that after they are accorded, it should again be informed that the intention has been really carried out. In such matters, do not shrink either from exactness of investigation or prolixity of detail. Your estimate will, in all probability, be under what the necessity of the case requires.

I could, Mr. Inspector, give to the instructions I now

address to you, a much greater development; but they are already sufficiently extended, and I would rather, with reference to the consequences of the principles herein laid down, rely on your own sagacity and zeal. In conclusion, I call your entire attention to the idea with which I am myself incessantly pre-occupied. To you is committed, as much and perhaps more than to any other individual whatever, the realization of the promises of the law of the 28th of June, 1833, for you are selected to carry out its application in every particular case, and even to the definitive moment of its accomplishment. Never lose sight of the fact, that in this great attempt to establish popular education, universally and effectively, success materially depends on the moral character of the masters and the discipline of the schools. Concentrate your solicitude and your efforts incessantly on these two conditions. May they continually advance in accomplishment: may the sentiment of duty and the habit of order be ever progressing in our schools: may their good reputation establish itself and penetrate into the hearts of families. On these foundations, the prosperity of elementary education will keep pace with its national utility.

Receive the assurance, &c. &c. &c.

No. IV.

(Page 78.)

1. *The Abbé J. M. de La Mennais to M. Guizot.*

Ploërmel, Oct. 1, 1836.

Sir and Minister,

I rejoice at the opportunity of renewing our former relations, the remembrance of which will ever be most agreeable to me, while they have so powerfully encouraged and sustained my efforts to disseminate elementary education in our country of Brittany. I have the satisfaction of seeing my establishments multiply and prosper, despite certain difficulties of detail incessantly recurring, and sometimes producing despondence. Nevertheless, these latter are less numerous and active than they have been. It is now generally admitted, that scarcely any schools are practicable in our rural districts, except those of the Brethren. But, at last, from the retreat in which I have finally collected them all, I have no longer one disposable; and if each were divided into four, the number would be still insufficient to satisfy all demands.

I must, therefore, occupy myself more than ever with the enrolment of novices, which supplies a perpetual source of embarrassment; not that I have any difficulty in finding candidates, but that they are nearly always young men who possess nothing, know very little when they arrive, and require to be kept a long time before they are rendered capable. In certain respects, their poverty itself is an advantage. Their manners are more simple and pure, their

minds more solid; they have no extravagant habits, no luxurious tastes. Born in the country, they return to it more willingly than others; they arrive there at less cost, and aspire to no superior condition: but to clothe and feed these poor and excellent youths, until they are able to conduct a school, entails an enormous expense; and it will, I am sure, be quite needless to endeavour to convince you that I am now, more than ever, under the necessity of soliciting your assistance. For 1836, you were kind enough to grant me 3000 francs; for 1837, you will, I know before asking, award me all that you can spare. For this reason I do not press for more, in spite of the many motives I have for desiring an increase. I rely entirely on the generous benevolence with which you have honoured me; and if I do not hesitate to have recourse to it, it is because I feel the importance of receiving before the commencement of 1837, the sum that you may assign to me. I entreat, therefore, the order for its payment as soon as you may find it convenient.

You will learn with pleasure that Finisterre, hitherto so backward, has asked me for more schools, since I have been enabled to establish one there which has met with great encouragement. To all who write to me from that department, with the same object, I answer, "send me apprentices and pay for them;" but this condition is unsatisfactory. In like manner, I reply again to many urgent instances which reach me from various provinces of France, asking me to found novitiates, "send me the candidates and pay their expenses." This reasonable proposition contents no one, and the project which would require some sacrifice is at once abandoned. In another quarter, the minister of Marine, has requested the Prefect of Morbihan to convey to me his desire of having some of my Brotherhood to instruct the emancipated slaves of Martinique and Guadaloupe. I have been unable to say *no*, for it would be a beautiful and holy work! neither have I yet said *yes*, for the sad objection ever

recurs, where shall we find materials to supply so many wants, and why send our brethren so far off, when we are so scantily supplied? Alas! if I were only seconded as I desire! . . . . . .

I am, with respect,
Sir and Minister,
Your very humble and obedient servant,
The Abbé J. M. DE LA MENNAIS.

---

2. *M. Guizot to the Abbé J. M. de La Mennais, at Ploërmel.*

Paris, Nov. 8, 1836.

I will assist you, sir, with great pleasure, to continue the salutary work you are carrying on with so much perseverance. I comprehend all your difficulties; but do not despond—you will surmount them. Every labour is effaced by success; we ought to look for victory, if not for peace. I will allot to you at the beginning of 1837, 3000 francs of subsidy for your institution of Ploërmel. I cannot do it sooner; you have already received 3000 francs, from the accounts of 1836; those for 1837 must be opened before I can order the payment of any sum on their credit.

I am anxious to receive from you some specific details as to what you could effect, if you were assisted, substantially assisted, in regard to the education of the slaves in our colonies. No one is more strongly convinced than I am, that enfranchisement is impracticable until this unfortunate class of human beings has lived for a considerable time in a religious atmosphere. Amongst the English colonies, Antigua is that in which religious emancipation has been the most successful, although sudden, because the Moravian brethren were established there for nearly a century, and had acquired an immense influence over the black population.

How much would it cost your Brethren, and how many could you assign to that mission? Would it be necessary to form them into a particular branch of your institution? I wish to obtain all the information possible before entering directly on the subject with the minister of Marine.

Adieu, sir; when you require my aid, be assured that it will not be wanting while you continue to do so much good in the cause of popular education, and receive, I pray you, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration.

GUIZOT.

No. V.

(Page 114.)

1. *M. Jouffroy to M. Guizot.*

Marseilles, Dec. 6th, 1835.

Sir,

I write these few lines from Marseilles to inform you of my safe arrival in this city. Although much fatigued, I am not worse than when I left Paris, which is all I could hope for. I expect to leave on Tuesday for Leghorn, by the steamer. The weather is beautiful, and if it continues so, we shall have a very mild passage. If the sea affects me too much, I shall disembark at Genoa and go on to Pisa in a vetturino.

I am enchanted with the valley of the Rhône, from Lyons to Avignon. They are the finest outlines in the world, and I was even pleased with the sombre tints that winter has spread over the landscape. The country of Avignon has revealed to me a feature in nature I was hitherto unacquainted with, and has left on me an indefinable impression. I say nothing of the graceful valley of Aix, nor of the beautiful roadstead of Marseilles; I was better prepared for the spectacle they presented to me. It has not moved me like the ancient city of the popes, and the magnificent horizon planted with ruins which surrounds it.

I expect to arrive without accident at Pisa, whence I shall write to you. I am aware that you have been so kind as to provide for me there an agreeable and useful acquaintance, in the person of M. ——. This is another obligation

I owe to your goodness, which I shall again encounter as in Paris. I will not repeat how deeply and gratefully I am moved by it. Such feelings express themselves inadequately.

Adieu, sir, believe in my old and invariable attachment, and in my respectful devotion.

JOUFFROY.

---

2. *M. Jouffroy to M. Guizot.*

Pisa, Jan. 4th, 1836.

Sir,

Although I have been settled in Pisa for fifteen days, I was unwilling to write to you until I had acquired some knowledge of this country and its inhabitants. I have found on the banks of the Arno an extraordinary temperature, which has not relaxed for a single moment since my arrival. At several intervals the river has been frozen over, and during the night the thermometer has fallen six degrees below zero. With such weather, it was impossible that the re-establishment of my health could make much progress, and yet I feel much better than in Paris. The journey, in particular, although fatiguing, has done me the greatest good. While in motion, I was perfectly well, and I only relapsed into the sensation of weakness under repose. I shall profit by this indication, and as soon as the weather softens, mean to undertake numerous excursions in the environs of Pisa. I hope, by the aid of this system, and under a sky that cannot fail to become rapidly milder, to attain the object of my voyage. I do not apologize for entering into these details; you have so strongly proved the interest you take in my health, that I have no hesitation in naming them.

I have met with the most obliging and cordial reception from all the professors of the University. I have called upon, and am intimately associated with M. Rosellini, who is prosecuting with zeal, and at the expense of the Grand Duke, the publication of his great work on the monuments of Egypt and Nubia: also with M. Rosini, one of the most distinguished poets and prose writers of Italy, author of the "Nun of Monza," which has balanced in this country the immense success of the Romance of Manzoni; and finally, with M. Requoli, pupil of Dupuytren, and the first surgeon in Italy since the death of Vacca. These men would fill an elevated rank in any country, and neglect nothing to render my sojourn in Pisa agreeable and easy. All three are professors in the University, which counts in its bosom other men of merit; but unfortunately the professor of philosophy is an old priest, half a scholastic, half a follower of Condillac, and entirely inaccessible.

My hope of finding in the library at Pisa some interesting manuscripts, bearing on the history of French philosophy during the Middle Ages, has entirely vanished. The victorious Florentines despoiled the Pisans of every literary monument the latter possessed; and the library of Pisa, composed of 50,000 volumes, is entirely modern, and without a single manuscript. I shall be compelled, therefore, to examine the catalogues of the libraries of Florence, when I visit that city, and, perhaps, I may there make some discoveries. Meanwhile, I am collecting information on the state of public instruction in Tuscany; but I fear it has undergone little change since the report of M. Cuvier. However, pray tell me, or let me know through Dubois, to what extent these researches would be useful to you, and with what view they ought to be particularly described.

The rigour of the season has not yet permitted me to work seriously, but when the fine weather returns, I hope to bring to a good end my labours on Reid. I am waiting

impatiently for the discussions in the Chamber, on our foreign policy. I expect much trifling on the part of our barristers; but after the sad debates on our internal state, which engrossed the late sessions, with so much danger to the country, it will be an important advance to see the Chamber at last occupying itself with our actual affairs, which are those from without, even though it should show itself as ignorant and weak as I expect. Let the attention of France be once diverted from herself, passions will then calm down, and we shall enter, at last, on real political existence. Under this view, I greatly lament my absence from the session about to open; I think I should have taken some part in the discussions, but our true interests will not want representatives, and I shall enjoy your victories at a distance.

Adieu, sir; believe I pray you in my old, invariable, and true attachment.

JOUFFROY.

No. VI.

(Page 117.)

Report to the King.

Paris, August 22nd, 1834.

Sire,

A sum of 25,000 francs has been carried to the budget of 1835, for new creations in the instruction of the faculties of the kingdom. The object of some of these creations was indicated in the report I had the honour of presenting to your Majesty, dated the 31st of December, 1833.

It is complained that, instruction in law is incomplete. . . . Several faculties demand chairs of administrative law. . . . and there is not one in which our French constitutional law, ancient and modern, is taught. . . . Meanwhile, the government under which we live to-day, calls so many citizens to take part in the affairs of the state, in those of the departments and townships, that it becomes most desirable that the portion of our legislature which belongs to the exercise of political rights, and to the privileges of the different powers, should be explained and commented upon, at least in our principal schools. Such lectures, delivered by men of experience and expanded reason, might become questions of great social interest. I feel, therefore, that it has become urgent to make some experiments of this nature.

The credit demanded was allowed by the Chamber, with views in accordance with those which your Majesty had deigned to approve of. I have, therefore, in consequence, felt it my duty to reflect on the most convenient locality for

the first essay in this instruction, on its precise object, on the form it should assume, and the rank it ought to hold in the order of studies.

Although the establishment of a course of constitutional law is, in fact, a complete novelty in our schools, it may be introduced there the more readily, as the principle of that instruction had been acknowledged from the beginning, by constitutive decrees of the faculties of law, and especially by that of the 21st of September, 1804, which appointed, article 10, that—

"In the second and in the third year, besides the sequel of the *Code des Français*, public French law and civil law will be taught, in their relations with public administration."

But this promise remained sterile under the Empire.

It was the same under the Restoration. In the momentary development which the faculty of Paris received by the decree of the 24th of May, 1819, public French law was reduced to a chair of administrative justice, which was speedily suppressed. It belongs to the government of your Majesty to establish on this point, what has always been dreaded, and to teach openly the principles of legal liberty and constitutional right, which form the basis of our institutions.

Such instruction, without doubt, cannot extemporize itself in all the schools at once. Of a common-place character, it would be useless and even injurious. It requires superior men, who can lend to it the authority of conviction and talent. Let a single chair of this class be instituted, and it will speedily exercise an important influence.

This point admitted, Sire, there can be no doubt as to the locality of this first creation. It is in the school of law of Paris, in the very centre of the most active and complete instruction that this new class should be opened, and call upon the whole world to pronounce judgment.

With regard to its object and form, they are determined

by the title itself. It is the exposition of the Charter, and individual guarantees, as well as political institutions that it consecrates. It will no longer comprise, for us, a simple system of philosophy, given over to the disputes of men; it will become a written and acknowledged law, which can and ought to be explained and reasoned on, as well as the civil law, or any other department of our legislation. Such a course of instruction, at once extensive and precise, founded on the public national law, and on the lessons of history, capable of expanding itself still further by foreign comparisons and analogies, ought to substitute for the errors of ignorance and the temerity of superficial ideas, powerful and positive knowledge.

According to my conviction, it is in the full freedom and extent of this course of Lectures, that its efficiency will be found. As constitutional law is now, amongst us, a veritable science, the principles of which are determined and its application in daily practice, no extreme consequences can be apprehended, no mysteries that it may be advisable to conceal; and in proportion as the exposition made by a lofty mind will be complete and thoroughly fathomed, so will the impression conveyed be peaceful and salutary.

But for this precise reason, your Majesty will doubtless consider that this new instruction cannot be added as a simple ornament to the school of law in Paris, and that it ought to be incorporated with it as an integral portion of study.

Already, since 1804, new objects of instruction, not comprehended within the original organization, have been, at different periods, added to the old classes, and are become obligatory on the pupils. Thus, the decree of the 4th of November, 1820, independently of the course on the civil code, furnished the adoption of a course on the commercial code, and on administrative law. A regulation of the 9th of May, 1829, decided equally that administrative

law should form a necessary part of the second examination for the degree of licentiate. For the same motives, and through a still more elevated consideration, the course of constitutional law ought to be rendered compulsory; in the third year, on aspirants to the licentiateship, in the faculty of law at Paris; and the second examination for this diploma ought to include a special trial in the objects of the new course.

From these different arrangements it will result that the title of licentiate in law will become more elevated, and more difficult to obtain in the faculty of Paris, than in the other faculties of the kingdom. But a similar irregularity exists already between the faculties in which the teaching of administrative law forms part of the course, and those in which it has no admission. Moreover, the most important point of all, is to improve still further what already flourishes, and to establish somewhere the model of an extended and well-directed instruction, without detriment to the future multiplications, on various points of France, of an institution so happily experimented.

I have the honour, in consequence, to propose to your Majesty to award your approbation to the accompanying draft of a decree.

I am, with the deepest respect, Sire,
Your Majesty's most humble, and most
obedient servant, and faithful subject,
GUIZOT.

No. VII.

(Page 120.)

M. Auguste Comte to M. Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction.
(*Confidential.*)

Paris, Saturday the 30th March, 1833.

Sir,

Although for more than three weeks I have postponed my intention of writing, I must commence by sincerely asking pardon for intruding business on you so soon after the cruel and irreparable loss you have sustained, and in which I most sincerely sympathise. But since, in accordance with what you were so obliging as to say in our last interview, it was towards the beginning of March, that the proposition was to be definitively examined which I had the honour of submitting to you, respecting the creation of a chair for the *general history of physical and mathematical science* in the College of France, I fear, were I to preserve silence longer on this point, that you might imagine I had renounced the project altogether.

It would be out of place, sir, to repeat here, even briefly, the many leading considerations calculated to impress the capital importance of this new instruction, its double influence in contributing to give a more philosophic direction to scientific studies, and to fill up a fundamental blank in the system of historical researches. It appears to me to be the evident and indispensable complement of superior teaching, and more particularly at the present epoch. I refer on this point to my note of the 29th of October, or to speak more correctly to your own spontaneous opinion on a question

which the nature of your mind and your anterior meditations place you in a position to form a sound judgment of beyond that of any other person. I must confess to you that, above all other considerations in this matter, I attach the highest value to your own unbiassed decision, independent of all influence, in using your right over the College of France, which fortunately by the law and by usage is placed beyond the province of the council of Public Instruction. The only two learned scholars who virtually form a portion of that council, although otherwise distinguished in their special endowments, are, by a singular coincidence, generally acknowledged in the scientific world as perfectly unacquainted with everything belonging to the proper sphere of their labours, and utterly incompetent in all matters which affect the philosophy of the sciences and the history of the human mind. There would be, I am bound to say with my habitual frankness, more than modesty in such an intelligence as yours, subordinating your opinion to theirs on a question of the nature which I have now the honour of calling to your close attention. If on this subject you are able to gather useful suggestions, it will not be, at least, from the assistance of your official advisers.

As during five months you must undoubtedly have found leisure to examine this affair with mature consideration, without being importunate or indiscreet, I trust that I may at last expect your final decision. I am far from complaining of the precarious, and, at times, miserable state in which I have ever found myself up to the present moment, for I feel how materially it has contributed to my education. But that education cannot continue through an entire life, and it is full time at thirty-five to feel anxious for a fixed and suitable position. The same circumstances which have been serviceable (and according to my idea usually indispensable) in compelling man to mature his conceptions and combine profoundly the general system of

his labours, become injurious by indefinite prolongation, when the question is to prosecute calmly the execution of researches suitably planned. For a mind such as you, sir, know me to possess, there is, I may venture to say, a better employment of time for the interest of society than giving every day five or six lessons in mathematics. I have not forgotten that in the philosophic conversations, too rarely occurring and so deeply interesting, which I had the honour of holding with you formerly, you were pleased to say often how much you should consider me adapted to assist in the regeneration of the higher degrees of public instruction, if circumstances ever bestowed on you its superintendence. I do not hesitate to remind you now of that kind disposition, and to solicit its effects when a new creation is in debate, which, apart from my personal advantage, combines in itself an indisputable benefit to science, and so completely harmonizes with the character of my understanding and the studies of my entire life, that I think it would be difficult at the present moment to select a more suitable candidate.

I hope, sir, you will not consider my urgent application on this subject as misplaced after such a long delay. You are aware that although this project was completely arranged in my mind before you entered on your ministry, I have never sought to submit it to your predecessor, under a perfect conviction that I should not be understood; and it is equally probable that the same reason may prevent me from proposing it to your successor. You may judge, therefore, that it is of the utmost importance to me to have this question decided while the ministry of Public Instruction is occupied, thanks to a fortunate exception, by a mind of the stamp of yours, and with which I have the precious advantage of personal acquaintance.

As this function embraces happily no political feature, I do not expect that under the general plan of the present government any reason can exist for my exclusion, notwith-

standing the intellectual incompatibility of my positive philosophy with all theological or metaphysical systems, and consequently with the corresponding systems of politics. Under any circumstances such exclusion could not affect my free philosophical range, which is already too distinctly characterized and developed to be stifled by any material obstacle, the effect of which, on the contrary, could only be to introduce into it, by the involuntary resentment arising from profound injustice, a feeling of irritation, against which I have until now carefully protected myself. As I cannot believe that purely gratuitous and personal vexations can occur to the mind of any statesman, under any system whatever, I feel no apprehension on this point. If, nevertheless, any motive of this nature should oppose your kind feeling, I doubt not but that you will frankly acknowledge it, as you must be well assured that I know you too well to look upon a mind so enlightened as yours as entirely unacquainted with such difficulties.

I do not either anticipate any obstacle from financial considerations, for the budget of the College of France seems to me perfectly capable of sustaining this new charge without any additional fund, as the chair of political economy will probably not be re-established, on account of its vague and contentious character, and of the irrational conception of that pretended science, as it has been understood up to the present day. At all events it is necessary at first to acknowledge in principle the advantage of a course on the history of positive science, without mixing up the question of money. I can the more readily facilitate such a decision, as I should willingly consent to undertake this course without salary until the Chamber appropriates a special fund, supposing the budget to be really inadequate.

From these various reasons I hope, sir, that you will shortly grant me a last interview to acquaint me with your definitive resolution on the subject of this creation, whichever

way it may incline. I am desirous of not being kept longer in suspense on this point, that I may be enabled, should this promising career be unfortunately closed to me, to pursue congenial steps in another direction, and to lead myself to a suitable position, which after a period of philosophic indifference too much indulged has now become with me an imperative duty.

I have disdained employing, in approaching a man of your worth, the ordinary resources of indirect patronage and solicitation, of greater or less importance, which I might notwithstanding, like others, have brought into play. Singly, I address myself to you alone. An insulated opportunity presents itself of placing me in an eligible post, without wounding any other interest, and of founding a scientific institution which, I do not fear to say, will reflect enduring honour on your ministry of Public Instruction. I believe, therefore, that I may reckon on the decisive proof to which I submit your former kindness for me, and on your zeal for the true progress of human intellect.

Accept, sir, the sincere assurance of the respectful consideration of your devoted servant,

AUGUSTE COMTE.

No. 159, *Rue St. Jacques.*

P.S. I beg of you to accept freely the homage of the first volume of my "Course of Positive Philosophy," of which I have the honour to send herewith a copy. The publication of this work, which the troubles of the book-trade had suspended for two years, is now about to be continued without interruption by another editor. I hasten to avail myself of my first privilege to dispose of a few copies, to satisfy the desire I have long entertained of submitting this work to such a judge as you are.

No. VIII.

(Page 149.)

M. Lakanal to M. Guizot.

Your Excellency,

My great work in two volumes on the United States, with the English translation of the text, is in the press, and you are several times celebrated in it: first, when treating of the condition of public instruction in the United States, as compared with that at present existing in France and England. Your eulogy springs from the subject as naturally as the flower from the stalk. You are the modern restorer of public education, in our beautiful country. This truth is known and admitted even in the journals. I have before me that of *Useful Knowledge*, the *American Bee*, and the *Monitor of New Orleans*. Your course of history has become a memorable epoch in the annals of our University. Your historical works, which we study after reading them, present that section of our knowledge as a Roman orator would have conceived it, as the preceptor and instructor of life, *magister vitæ*. In treating of the actual state of legislation in the United States, in France, and in England, I have had occasion to designate the orators who take the lead in Congress, in Parliament, and in the Tribune; and certainly I could not omit him whose admirable talent of extemporaneous speaking protects the sound doctrines which direct the government of France. With all enlightened minds, I entertain a profound conviction that if the government had followed any other course, if it had

impressed any other bearing on public affairs, France would have undergone new revolutions since the days of July. It suffices, to be satisfied of this, to know the restless and changeable character of the generality of the French people, and the spirit which governs the cabinets of Europe. France, crushed and dismembered, would have been invaded for the third time.

The tumultuous debates excited throughout all parts of the United States on the occasion of the treaty of the twenty-five millions, form a remarkable appendix to my work. The speakers in opposition, who have discussed this question in the tribune, have placed themselves in a false position. They have misjudged the Americans. They have ignored or pretended to misunderstand the moral state of these half-civilized countries. In general, the inhabitants of the United States do not comprise a national body, properly so called; a homogeneous people. The founders of the federal government all repose in their tombs, and their descendants constitute only the smallest part of the general population, which is composed of Irish, Germans, Swiss, Spaniards, Italians, Poles, French, &c. Jackson himself, an American by birth, was only eight years of age at the period of the proclamation of independence, having been born on the 7th of March 1767. All these people, so different in spirit, manners, habits, and language, enjoy here a half-savage liberty, unfettered by the laws, and select in preference for their chief, an old soldier, who throughout his life has cultivated his fields in Tennessee, or hunted miserable savages in the forests. Can it be believed or expected that such a man, harsh in character, can treat of public affairs with our courtiers and academicians? Jackson, an extremely despotic soldier, as he has proved at Pensacola and New Orleans, where he was confirmed in his habits, treads with both feet on all conventionalities, by custom, and not from perverse disposition. He is well placed at the head of a new people, little advanced in the career of

civilization. This truth has been fully acknowledged by Mr. Livingston himself. That citizen was charged by the legislature of Louisiana to draw up a code of laws. I was at that time President of the University of New Orleans, living very familiarly and even in a sort of intimacy with Livingston. I wrote to him to point out many deficiencies in his work. His answer was, and he has assuredly not forgotten it, *that this rough sketch was sufficient, for the moment, for a new people, economical and laborious, and who as yet had no establishments beyond those absolutely necessary for the first wants of life.* The American people, in their manners and language, are somewhat too rough and unripe to be able to see anything offensive to France in Jackson's message. Extreme French susceptibility ought to make allowances for a nation whose forms and expressions are naturally severe and even sour. Political affairs are not dealt with at Samarcand as at Paris, at Sparta as at Athens in the polished era of Pericles. The passage objected to, is, if we may use the term, a specimen of unripe fruit. Jackson deals in a similar manner with the constituted authorities of the United States, and probably with the cabinets of Europe who have the good sense not to take offence at it. Look at the messages with respect to the bank, and especially as to disturbances in the Carolinas. All these debates, in which the senate accuses the President of having violated the constitution, and the President retorts by protesting against the senate; in which Jackson threatens to coerce the southern States, and draws upon himself in reply the appellation of a new Robespierre, a second Marat, leave no irritation behind them, and produce no commotion in the great family. Toleration prevails throughout the States, and the heads of the members of congress are not inflated by an ambition to supplant the ministers. Much surprise has been excited in these countries on observing that the treaty has only been attacked by the so-called liberals, and by the legitimists with advertisements. The Americans, in their col-

lective good sense, have judged that the attack upon the Jackson treaty was merely an ostensible pretence, that the true objection was levelled against the ministry, and that all the recriminations of the liberal party may be worded in this formula: "vacate those seats that we may step into them." to the legitimists they exhibit palpably in their cries for *economy*, and their appeal to the *national dignity*, the reflection of Laocoon at sight of the Trojan Horse, *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.*

In conclusion:

1. The language of the people of the United States, such as it has been formed and established, differs essentially from that of a nation arrived at their last degree of civilization.

2. Jackson has yielded to the impulse conveyed to him by Livingston, in several letters which have been exactly copied in all the American newspapers.

3. The message contains great eulogiums on the French people, which ought to weigh against the unfavourable impression produced by the offensive article.

4. The French Government has justly treated the inconsiderate diplomatic agent who supplied pernicious advice.

5. And ought not the heavy reflections cast upon Jackson from the tribune, to be taken into account on the side of compensation?

I therefore consider, in common with all Americans, and even Frenchmen who inhabit this country, *that justice has been done.*

I speak no more of myself. I believe, however, that possessing a thorough knowledge of the United States and the surrounding regions; that being well acquainted with English and Spanish—and language establishes a sort of relationship amongst nations—I could be very useful to you, robust and healthy as I am, and entirely devoted to your government, to which I offered my homage from the first days of its installation. I shall never importune you again, and shall confine

myself, in my solitude, to the regret that nature having implanted within me, throughout all my life, the desire of serving my country, has nevertheless refused me the means.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's

Very humble and obedient servant,

LAKANAL.

Mobile, State of Alabama, July the 6th, 1835.

No. IX.

(Page 171.)

1. *Extract from a Report to the King on the Ministry of Public Instruction, for the service of the year* 1835.

Sire,

For nearly fifteen years, the study of the sources of history has assumed a new activity. Men of clear-sighted intelligence, of rare science, and laborious constancy, have ransacked the vast depositories of the archives of the kingdom, and the collections of manuscripts in the Royal Library. Some have even carried their inquiries into the libraries and archives of the departments. Everywhere it has been ascertained from the first experiments, while seeking at hazard, that great riches have remained buried. Efforts were redoubled, and discoveries equally important and unexpected rapidly followed, authentic revelations, which throw new light on particular events and periods of our history, to such an extent that we may be permitted to assert that the manuscripts and original documents hitherto brought to light, scarcely exceed in number or importance those which have remained unpublished.

Since this fact has been established, not a single day has passed in which men, jealous of the progress of science and the literary glory of France, have failed to express their regret at seeing the working of so rich a mine abandoned to insulated individuals, whose greatest efforts can only produce partial and limited results. In truth, amongst these

voluntary explorers, we ought to distinguish the Academy of Inscriptions, which has laboured to collect various series of monuments relative to our national history. But your Majesty has very recently convinced yourself of the extreme slenderness of the resources at the disposal of the Academy, for the publication of these collections, and of the inevitable slowness of the result. Thus, however praiseworthy may be these efforts, they are inadequate to soothe the regrets and satisfy the desires of those who wish to obtain possession of so many treasures, as yet useless and unknown.

The necessity of bringing these isolated attempts to a close has begun to be so keenly felt, that some persons have recently formed themselves into a society, with a view to concentrate and arrange in co-operation the researches of all who dedicate themselves to this class of labour.[1] I trust this society has not made a vain appeal to the friends of science; I take part in its efforts; but I cannot conceal from myself that even if it could obtain the command of much greater resources than I can suppose it to possess, its action would still be partial, and its publications could only extend to a few series of monuments.

The government alone, according to my conviction, retains the power of accomplishing the great work of a general publication of all the important and hitherto inedited materials connected with the history of our country. The government alone possesses the resources of every description which this vast enterprise requires. I do not even speak of the means of providing for the expenses it must entail; but, as guardian and depositary of these precious legacies of the past, the government can enrich such a publication with a host of explanatory notes, which a private individual would strive in vain to obtain. This is a truly liberal undertaking, and

[1] The Society of the History of France, founded in June, 1833, already reckons 200 members, and independently of its *Bulletin*, which appears every month, has issued several important publications.

worthy of the benevolent interest of your Majesty for the advancement of Public Instruction and the diffusion of knowledge.

But every day of delay renders the task more difficult; not only do traditions become indistinct, and thus remove from us many means of completing and interpreting written evidences, but the monuments themselves undergo material alteration. There are many depositories, particularly in the departments, in which the oldest records go astray or become undecipherable, in the absence of the necessary care for their preservation. I feel therefore the urgency of placing this enterprise in immediate operation, and on an extensive scale.

One of the first measures should be to prepare an inventory of the palæographical treasures in all the departments. The researches should be carried on in two classes of establishments; at first in the communal libraries, and secondly, in the depôts of archives, whether communal or departmental. I know already that there are several libraries which might be most profitably explored, and nearly all contain something worth collecting. These libraries, in particular, furnish information on the history of provincial localities and peculiarities. But under this head more riches would be found in the archives than in the libraries. Despite the ravages which during forty years have produced irreparable gaps in the greater portion of these archives, an abundant harvest may still be gathered there. There are even some which by a fortunate chance have escaped pillage; and when it has happened that they have belonged to one of those towns, or ancient capitals of important provinces, such, for example, as Dijon or Lille, it is easy to understand how many valuable facts may still remain buried there. One of these towns can present us with the uninterrupted correspondence of all our sovereigns for five or six centuries; another possesses more than two or three thousand charters,

more than six thousand pieces not only unpublished, but unknown to palæographers, and the importance of which no catalogue or analysis has yet revealed. In a word, the departmental libraries and archives would, in all probability, become one of the sources from whence the most abundant materials of this great publication might be derived.

The department of manuscripts in the Royal Library should be equally examined, and would furnish a mass of original documents, the importance of which it is difficult to calculate. The *Colbert*, *Brienne*, *Dupuy*, and *Gaignières* collections, and many others it would run into too much length to enumerate, have as yet been scarcely, as we may say, glanced into. In them are buried, correspondences, memoirs, writings of every kind, living reflections of all ages, a repertory of judgments passed by each separate epoch upon itself. No other depôt is richer than the Royal Library in materials for that class of history which may be called contemporaneous, a history equally compounded of the revelation of ideas and facts.

The archives of the kingdom, on the contrary, would throw vivid light on certain particulars of events disfigured by tradition. Important corrections might be derived from thence, with curious information on all the social transactions which leave an authentic and official trace of their passage. There are also in the depôts of the archives, treasures which no one would be tempted to seek there, such as diplomatic correspondence, political treaties, and fragments of history. Thus, in conclusion, libraries and archives of departments, the Royal Library and the secondary libraries of Paris, and the archives of the kingdom, are the principal establishments whose hidden riches should be brought to light.

But there still remains another historical source perhaps more fertile and as yet even less known.

The depositories of which I have spoken are public: the government could only extract from them, and render more

accessible to all readers, what, with persevering efforts, private individuals might undoubtedly accomplish by themselves. The advantage would be enormous; but the government is called upon to do more. It possesses other archives under its sole control, and of which it can, without any inconvenience, disseminate, in part at least, the unappreciable treasures.

Until now, at one time the nature of the government, and at another incidental inconveniences, have rendered these great depôts almost inaccessible; but the distinction is so profound between the present epoch and times past, the policy of to-day is so little based upon that of preceding ages, that the actual government can, without fear or scruple, associate the public with a portion of these historical riches.

By pausing towards the commencement of the last age, not only the interest of the state, but that of private families will escape all injury.

Evidently the facts and documents anterior to the reign of Louis XVth belong no more to politics, but to history; and nothing interferes to prevent the publication of those that merit publicity.

In thus exploring with discretion the archives of the different ministries, and especially those of foreign affairs, which are in perfect order, the publication which I have the honour to propose, will be a monument equally worthy of your Majesty and of France.

The history of cities and provinces, of local facts and customs, will derive light from the departmental libraries and records; the general history of ideas, usages, manners, and rites, from the manuscripts of the great libraries of Paris, and the archives of the kingdom; in fine, the particular history of treaties and embassies, from the archives of the Foreign Office. That of legislation and important trials from the records of Parliament: that of sieges, battles, the navy, and the colonies, from the archives of War and Marine.

In this statement, I can only lay before your Majesty a summary or imperfect sketch of the undertaking I submit for your approbation. I trust that the results I can only glance at, but which may be confidently expected, justify in your Majesty's eyes, and in the estimation of the Chambers, my demand for an extraordinary allocation. If this credit is accorded, I shall have the honour of presenting to your Majesty a more detailed plan of this great national publication, and of submitting the mode of execution the most likely to insure success.

I am, with the most profound respect, Sire,
Your Majesty's most humble, and most obedient servant, and faithful subject, the Minister of State for the Department of Public Instruction,
GUIZOT.

Paris, December 31, 1835.

---

2. *Report to the King on the Measures prescribed for the discovery and publication of Inedited Documents relative to the History of France.*

Sire,

Your Majesty has deigned to entertain the views I had the honour of submitting to you relative to the search after and publication of inedited documents relating to the history of France. The Chambers have voted, in the budget of 1835, a credit of 120,000 francs, dedicated to these labours, and which attests loudly the interest inspired by the scientific and national enterprise approved of by your Majesty.

I have applied myself to prepare the success of this measure, and I solicit your Majesty's permission to bring under your observation the plan which I propose to follow, and the arrangements I have already prescribed.

Since the 22nd of November, 1833, I have addressed myself to the Prefects, to obtain from them precise information and details on the condition of the libraries and archives of the departments they administer, as well as on the various works in manuscript which may be contained in those depositories. The answers I have received have already supplied me with some curious documents; they have, in particular, pointed out to me the most desirable courses to adopt so as to arrive at important results.

On the 20th of July last, I placed myself in relation with the academies and learned societies in the departments; I have solicited their co-operation; I have endeavoured to arrange their efforts, and everything leads me to believe that they will second me with effective zeal.

On the 19th of July last, I formed, in the ministry of Public Instruction, a committee, including men of the highest consideration for their knowledge, merit, and historical labours. This committee will be specially charged to watch over and direct, in concert with myself, all the details of this vast undertaking. It has assembled several times under my presidency, and owing to the enlightened assistance which its members have willingly afforded me, we already begin to see the results it will be possible to obtain.

A preliminary care has occupied the committee; that of determining clearly the end proposed by the administration, and the limits within which it is to be restrained. On this point, it suffices to act rigorously according to the terms of the financial law of 1835, which comprise and explain the full idea of the undertaking. To gather from all sources, from the archives and libraries of Paris and the departments, from public and private collections; to collect, examine, and publish, if there is reason for doing so, all important inedited documents which have an historical character, such as manuscripts, charters, diplomas, chronicles, memorials, correspondence; even works on philosophy, literature, and art, provided

they revive some new feature of the manners and social state of any epoch in our history:—such will be the object of these labours.

I have carefully investigated with the committee the surest means of carrying these plans into execution.

The search after documents presents serious difficulties. At Paris, and in a small number of other cities, there are archives methodically classed, and in which are kept with great exactness the inventory of all the papers deposited there; but in all other places disorder and confusion prevail. At the epoch of the revolutionary troubles, a crowd of documents, until then preserved in the monasteries, in the châteaux, or in the archives of the townships, were suddenly given up to pillage and devastation. Masses of papers and parchments, transported to the neighbouring municipalities, have been thrown pell-mell into the lofts or abandoned lumber rooms; in several places the very memory is effaced of these transfers, so negligently and informally carried on. Hence, an opinion has been generally established, and has passed, as may be said, into a tradition in many departments, that all have perished alike, in those times of agitation. It is certain, nevertheless, that a considerable portion of ancient records may yet be found, and notoriously in the episcopal and parliamentary cities; and that many important documents have been preserved and restored to the towns from whence they were taken, when, at a subsequent period, a conservative authority ordered the collection, in the principal places of the districts, of the relics of the ancient abbeys, confounded with charters and other authentic monuments. Several papers were also preserved at that time, as titles to property, or connected with estates that had been sold by public authority.

I have not been able to adopt the plan of actually and directly providing for the general and methodical classification of all local archives, whether of departments or townships: time and our resources are unequal to such an

immense labour. The King's library contains already a general inventory of all the archives existing in France before the Revolution; an inventory drawn up about the year 1784, under the ministry of M. Bertin, and to which is appended a great number of registers, or lists of the principal documents contained in the local archives. These guides are sufficient for our first researches: as we penetrate into the public depôts to explore their contents, we shall feel the necessity of placing them in order; the first advances will excite the zeal which leads to others, and zeal will create resources. The local authorities, the general and municipal councils, will naturally be excited and induced, we may hope, to reinstate their archives in convenient localities, and to prepare the catalogues of their contents. It is proper, therefore, to set to work at once, without commencing methodically by undertaking a general classification, which in the existing state of things would lead to more embarrassment than advantage, and which, moreover, our researches will bring on almost of necessity.

I have, in concert with the members of the committee, sought out in each department and town, men already known by their works on national history, and fit to be associated with those I am about to commence. We have drawn up a first list of eighty-seven persons, with whom I propose to place myself in communication, with the view of specially employing them in researches connected with the places where they live. A regular correspondence will be established between them and my department, through the medium of the Prefects, and without insisting everywhere on the same plan, on a systematic and uniform organization, which would ill agree with the wants or resources of particular localities. I have, nevertheless, drawn up general instructions equally applicable to all researches and all plans, and which will be forwarded to all the correspondents of my ministry.

In places where I am unable to obtain the co-operation of

correspondents adapted to a work of this nature, I shall endeavour to supply them by sending special commissioners already experienced, and whose qualifications are well known to me. But I shall receive with readiness all communications and proposals. I am aware that many unassuming and industrious men live scattered and almost unknown throughout the country, ready to place their zeal and knowledge at the disposal of a favourable administration. I shall search for them sedulously, and shall rejoice when they are found. The central committee will constantly keep pace with the different researches carrying on in Paris and in the departments. It will superintend, by particular instructions, all the labours I shall have prescribed or authorized, and will forward to the correspondents of the ministry the information which they will find indispensable in estimating the value of the different archives and manuscripts. As soon as any important discovery is brought under my notice, one of the members of the committee will be instructed with its special examination; also to communicate with the person through whom it has been sent, and to search for all documents relating to the same subject, which may exist in other collections. As often as, after this inquiry, the publication of such or such papers and manuscripts may be considered desirable, it will take place under the superintendence of the committee, either by the immediate care of one of the members, or by an attentive revision of the labours of their correspondents.

Such, Sire, in its essential features, is the plan I conceive it desirable to adopt. The execution has already commenced, and I am able to acquaint your Majesty with the first and proximate results.

The archives of several cities in the kingdom are in good order, and sufficiently known for the immediate commencement of profitable researches. The public library of Besançon has been for a long time the depository of the papers of the chief minister of Charles V. and Philip II.—the Cardinal

Pernot de Granvelle. This vast collection is composed of the correspondence of that minister, of the notes of his agents, and of all the papers connected with his administration in the Low Countries and the kingdom of Naples. It has only been known to scholars, until the present day, through the rough sketch of a printed catalogue, and the short analysis of some pieces by a Benedictine monk of the eighteenth century. I have established, at Besançon, under the presidency of the learned librarian of that city, M. Weiss, a commission instituted to proceed to a complete analysis of these materials. It will disconnect and separate them, placing aside those which contain sufficient interest for publication. I hope that a considerable portion of these historic documents will soon be ready for the press.

The rich and precious archives of the ancient Counts of Flanders are preserved at Lille. They contain documents reaching as far back as the eleventh century. I am taking steps, in concert with the Prefect of the North, to explore this collection, and to draw from it all such papers as may appear worthy of being brought to light.

The remains of the archives at Roussillon are deposited at Perpignan: some interesting particulars will be found amongst them on the history of that province and on the relations of the kings of France with the sovereigns of Arragon. Many spoliations and a protracted negligence from which these records are, at length, rescued by the zeal of the librarian of the city of Perpignan, have not so completely impoverished them but that they may still contain some important papers.

To Poictiers, where the archives of the ancient province of Aquitaine are preserved, I have sent, with the title of keeper of the records of the city, one of the most distinguished pupils of the school of Charters, M. Redet. M. Chelles, a pupil of the same school, has also been despatched to Lyons with a similar title.

In the libraries and archives of Paris, the labours are in full activity, and promise important results.

The department of manuscripts in the royal library, an immense depôt of materials of every kind, is for the first time subjected to a general and regular examination. It presents bodies of works drawn up alternately by men well acquainted with the subjects of our history, and by individuals anxious to transmit to posterity the details of matters in which they have been personally engaged. We find there, also, collections of detached pieces in considerable number, supplying sources of authentic documents on almost every subject. The collections formed by several persons, whose names are preserved, such as those of Colbert, Dupuy, Brienne, and Gaignières, of Baluze, of the president of Mesures, and of several others, have been placed there in their integrity after the deaths of the possessors. Young men, practised in this branch of study, are employed, under the superintendence and direction of the conservators, Messrs. Champollion Figeac and Guérard, to explore these fertile mines, and to select the various manuscripts, memoirs, or other pieces, which may seem to them worthy of publication, and to be submitted afterwards to the special examination of the committee. Already several works have been extracted from this source, and are consigned to the hands of persons instructed to prepare them for the press. I must name, amongst others, a collection of curious notes in the hand of Cardinal Mazarin, relating to the daily incidents of his conduct during the wars of the Fronde. These notes, generally written in Italian, and in a very concise style, will be published with a French translation, and with explanatory notes.

A journal of the States-general held at Tours in 1484, of which the Royal Library possesses several copies, was translated into Latin by John Masselin, one of the members of those states. The numerous details it supplies on the discussions, the usages and political ideas of that time, have, in

a great measure, escaped the knowledge of our historians. Some have been contented to make this work known by extracts which others have copied. It will now be published, for the first time, in its original text, and accompanied by a translation.

An important monument of the language, poetry, and history of an epoch already remote, is contained in a vast chronicle in verse, of the war of the Albigenses, written in the dialect of the country at a period very near the event, by an author who had witnessed the facts he relates. This furnishes a source of information equally interesting to philosophers and historians, and also one of the most curious literary relics of the thirteenth century. The care of its publication is intrusted to M. Fauriel.

After the peace of 1763, M. de Bréquigny was despatched to London, with a bureau composed of seven persons, to take copies of all the documents deposited in the archives of the Tower of London, which might in any manner bear on the history of France. This labour continued for several years, and produced a collection of nearly one hundred and fifty volumes in folio of copies of various documents concerning those of our provinces which remained so long under English rule. The originals of several of these documents have since been lost in the Tower of London. The nature of these researches, their extent, including also the events which have taken place since they were accomplished, all contribute to bestow on this immense collection an interest augmenting with time. I have ordered a minute investigation of this series, now deposited in the King's library; every document it contains will be successively examined; those which have not yet been published, but which deserve to be made known, will be corrected, classified, and brought forward.

Another collection which I consider calculated to throw new light on the political history of the ancient French monarchy, will be that of the charters granted to the towns and

communes by the kings and lords of the soil, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. These charters are very numerous; they embrace nearly the whole extent of France, and their tenor is extremely diversified. Some have been already published, but many others have not seen the day. Perhaps these latter may not be among the least curious and important. The King's library contains a collection of them, formed by the care of Dupuy, filling several volumes in folio. It will be submitted to a rigid analysis. The portion already known will not be reprinted, but documents and papers necessary for its completion will be added. Finally, I propose to add the charters and primitive institutions of the different corporations, masterships, and private associations established in France, in such manner that this collection may bring together and place in full light the many and varied origins of French citizenship; that is to say, of the first institutions which have served to enfranchise and elevate the nation. This work will be executed under the direction of M. Augustine Thierry.

The general archives of the kingdom, examined at the same time and in the same manner with the Royal Library, will furnish a great number of detached articles;—acts of public authority, relations of particular events, diplomas, charters, and other authentic monuments calculated to throw new light on the obscurest points of our history, and to correct erroneous or imperfect versions.

The special archives of the different ministries promise even more important fruits: these materials must be investigated with prudence and discernment. Our researches, also, will confine themselves exclusively to the epochs which may be considered as falling within the domain of history. But we shall find within these limits enough to excite and satisfy the most eager curiosity of scholars and of the general public. The directors of these valuable depôts have all promised their zealous co-operation.

The archives of the ministry of Foreign Affairs, classified in perfect order, form our most considerable historical depôt, from the abundance and value of the documents. The publications I propose to draw from thence will be executed under the care of M. Mignet, the director, who has already prepared an important and extensive collection intended to commence the series. The long and curious negotiations relative to the Spanish succession, opened on the death of Charles II., will be the object of this compilation. Commenced immediately after the treaty of the Pyrenees in 1699, they only concluded in 1713, at the epoch when the peace of Utrecht fixed the public rights of Europe and its territorial distribution, on new bases. This publication will make known the progressive march of the great events of which it treats, and for the first time display openly in all its reality and extent the policy of Louis XIV.

The archives of the War-office will be consulted at the same time with those of foreign affairs, and the information gathered from both sources connected and mutually compared. Thus, while we seek in the archives of diplomacy all that relates to the negotiations engendered by the Spanish succession, the War-office will place at our disposal the history of the campaigns which followed and seconded those negotiations, accompanied by the correspondence of Louis XIV., Philip V., the Duke of Orleans, Marshal the Duke of Berwick, and the Duke of Vendôme.

To these last publications will be added maps and plans necessary to illustrate the military operations. The director of the actual depôt of the War-office has voluntarily placed at my disposal the valuable materials of this class which he has himself collected. They will be published under his personal care and superintendence.

Analogous labours will be carried out also in the archives of the ministry of the Marine. The condition of our navy, the history of our maritime wars and great naval battles, and that

of our colonies for more than one hundred and fifty years, are there perpetuated in authentic collections, the selection from which will be made by persons versed in that particular branch of study.

Next to the political, the intellectual and moral history of the country has an equal claim on our attention. The series of a nation's efforts and progress in philosophy, science, and literature, comprises a great and beautiful portion of its destiny. Undoubtedly the abundance and special character of the monuments of this class ought to prescribe to us some reserve on this point; they cannot be easily or numerously picked out in a collection of which history, properly so called, is the predominant object. But works which at certain epochs have strongly agitated the minds, and exercised a powerful action on the intellectual development of contemporaneous generations, those which have opened in the progress of ideas a new era;—those, in fine, which under a purely literary form reveal to us forgotten manners, usages, or social facts, the traces of which we have lost;—such works ally themselves closely to history. If we should be able to discover any monuments of this character, we shall feel it our duty to hasten their publication, by forming them into a particular series in the general collection.

I am already able, Sire, to name to your Majesty a recent discovery in this class of the highest value to those amongst us who dedicate themselves to the study of philosophy and its history. The manuscript of the famous work of Abelard, entitled the "Yes and No" ("*Sic et Non*"), has been found in the library at Avranches. This book, supposed to be irrecoverably lost, is the same which occasioned the condemnation of Abelard by the council of Sens, in 1140. M. Cousin will superintend its publication.

In conclusion, Sire, the history of the arts ought to occupy a place in this vast accumulation of researches, which embraces every section of our national existence and destinies.

No study perhaps reveals to us more vividly the social state and true spirit of by-gone generations, than that of their religious, civil, public, and domestic monuments, of the ideas and rules that have presided over their construction; the study, in fact, of all the works and varieties of architecture which form at once the origin and epitome of all the arts.

I propose, Sire, to commence without delay a considerable undertaking in this particular. I shall apply myself to the preparation of a complete inventory, a descriptive and argumentative catalogue of the monuments of all characters and ages which have existed or still exist on French soil. Such a work, by reason of its special nature, of its importance and novelty, ought to be kept distinct from the other historical labours which I have brought under your Majesty's consideration; it is, therefore, my intention to confer its superintendence to a special committee, and to make it the object of exclusive measures which I shall have the honour of submitting to your Majesty.

Such, Sire, are the steps I have taken, prepared, or projected, to assure the accomplishment of the great enterprise on the subject of which the vote of the Chambers has responded to the views of your Majesty. This enterprise ought not to be an incidental or passing effort; it will prove a lasting homage, and, as I may designate it, a perpetual memorial in honour of the origins and reminiscences of the glory of France. I venture to hope that, through the learned and zealous co-operation of those persons who are anxious to second me, the first results will speedily manifest themselves, and will not be unworthy of the noble thought, the execution of which your Majesty has deigned to confide to me.

I am, with profound respect, Sire,

Your Majesty's most humble and most obedient servant, and faithful subject, the Minister,

Secretary of State for Public Instruction,

GUIZOT.

Paris, November 27, 1834.

No. X.

(Page 174).

Report to the Minister, Secretary of State for the Department of Public Instruction.

Paris, March 23, 1836.

Sir and Minister,

Since the last meeting of the committee, the historical labours undertaken by order of the minister, your predecessor, have not been suspended. These labours, as I have already had the honour of explaining to you, are of two classes: the *search* after documents, and their *publication*. This division is indicated by the text itself of the financial law which opens to the minister of Public Instruction a special credit for the collection and publication of inedited monuments connected with the history of France.

The search after documents comprehends the scrutiny and arrangement of the various collections of manuscripts, the analysis of papers which appear worthy of attention, and the examination of the proposals addressed to the minister.

Amongst the publications there are some terminated, others only commenced; some that have been ordered by ministerial decisions, and the materials of which are not yet sufficiently prepared for the press.

I propose to lay before you, in this report, the actual position of the historical labours entered upon under the direction of the first committee, to enable you, sir, to estimate for yourself what has been done up to the present date, and what it will be proper to do at a later period.

There is but one publication which may be said to be in

fact concluded,—the "Journal of the States General of 1484," by John Masselin. This work has been printed and delivered to the public three months ago.

Volumes one and two, of the "Negotiations relative to the Spanish Succession," have been published by M. Mignet, as well as the first volume of the "Collection of Documents to assist the History of the War of the Succession in Spain," by General Baron Pelet, director of the war depôt. The labour necessary to complete these two important publications is continued without intermission.

A volume entitled, "Journal of the Sessions of the Council of King Charles VIII.," will appear immediately. M. Fallot has readily undertaken to prepare an introduction to this work.

Several other works are in the hands of the printer: 1. "The History in Verse of the Crusade against the Albigensian Heretics," translated from the Provençal text by M. Fauriel: 2. A selection of the "Letters from the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Princesses of France," by M. Champollion Figeac, extracted from the copies of Brequigny: 3. "The Chronicle of the Monks of St. Denis." Messrs. Fauriel and Champollion will willingly explain to the committee the point of advancement their work has reached.

M. Ravenel has finished his labour on the "Memoranda of Mazarin;" he has added to the text of these notes some unpublished papers of Mazarin's;—his correspondence with Colbert, and several other pieces on the troubles of the Fronde.

The minister of Public Instruction has not yet issued the necessary authority for printing the work of M. Ravenel; it would be desirable to take the opinion of the committee on this point at its next meeting.

M. Francis Michel continues the publication of the "Chronicle in Verse of the Dukes of Normandy," by Benoît de Sainte-More, the text of which he procured during his last visit to England.

I shall not mention here the publication, almost entirely finished, of the inedited works of Abelard, by M. Cousin, the second committee being specially charged with the direction of all that concerns literature, philosophy, the arts and sciences, in their connection with general history.

Your predecessor, Mr. Minister, recently authorized the publication of several other works, which he considered worthy of interest.

M. Jules Desnoyers, a member of the first committee, has been instructed to draw up "A critical statement of the researches undertaken in France at all periods, having for their object the study and publication of the ancient monuments of our national history." This work is destined to serve as an analogue to that which has been confided to M. Ste. Beurs, on the "History of Literary Criticism."

The Benedictines of Solesmes, united into an association by the Abbé Guéranger, canon of the city of Mons, have received commission to continue the collection entitled "Gallia Christiana:" they will work at first, during a year, at the completion of the volume, for which they have already accumulated a considerable amount of materials. The committee, after having examined the result of these labours, will decide whether it may be desirable to confide this undertaking to them for a longer period.

M. Tommasea will publish, under the direction of M. Mignet, the "Accounts of the Venetian Ambassadors" relative to the affairs of France during the sixteenth century.

M. Claude is printing, under the superintendence of M. Guérard, "The Cartulary of the Abbey of St. Bertin." When this work is published, the same labour will be continued for the "Cartulary of the Church of Nôtre Dâme de Chartres."

The scrutiny of the "Manuscripts of the Royal Library," intrusted to M. Champollion Figeac, has yielded important results during the course of the year 1835: within the last

month, this service has been completely re-organized. Seven persons are employed there in place of twelve, and the duties of three of these are principally confined to the collection and analysis of papers which contain valuable documents on the history of France.

The commission instituted at Besançon, under the presidency of M. Weiss, continues the scrutiny of the manuscript papers of the Cardinal de Granvelle.

M. Leglay pursues his work on the manuscripts deposited in the archives of Lille and Cambray.

M. de Courson carries on similar researches at Rennes, in concert with M. Maillet, the librarian of that city.

The correspondence with the departments has for some time furnished useful acquisitions. I shall now lay before you, Mr. Minister, a summary of the most important labours of the correspondents of the ministry.

M. Maillard de Chambure, correspondent for the department of the Côte d'Or, addresses (June 29, 1835) a notice on the "Manuscript of the History of St. Jean de Réome," which comes from the abbey of Moutiers St. Jean, where it was incorrectly designated under the title of "Cartulary of Réome."

The same correspondent communicates (July 24, 1835) the discovery he has made in the library of the Academy of Sciences at Dijon, of two manuscripts, of which one, formerly belonging to the library of the President Bouhier, is entitled "Journal of what happened in Burgundy during the League, from 1571 to 1601, by the Sieur Pépin, Musical Canon of the Holy Chapel of Dijon," in small 4to, mentioned in the "Bibliothèque Historique," No. 35897. The second manuscript has for title, "Memoir of what took place in the Parliament of Dijon, from the 10th of November, 1574, to the 3rd of July, 1602, by Gabriel Breunot, Counsellor to the Parliament," in large 8vo; mentioned also in the "Bibliothèque Historique," No. 33053.

July 15.—M. Piers, correspondent at St. Omer, sends the continuation of his notices on the manuscripts belonging to the library of that town. Those which he forwards at this date relate to Nos. 249, "Cyrilli Alexandrini Thesaurus;" 750, "Cartularium Folciami;" 769, "Vita beati Petri Tharanta, Siensi archieopiscopi." He also points out the following: "Vita beatæ Mariæ de Onyaco," "Genealogia Comitum Flandrensium, etc." M. Piers adds to these memoranda, a biographical and bibliographical notice on the abbey of Clairmarais, with a description of the church. This last part belongs rather to the special labours of the second committee.

July 26.—M. Maurice Ardant, jun., President of the Tribunal of Commerce of Limoges, forwards a copy of a manuscript, entitled, "Of the Enfranchisement of the Inhabitants of Rochechouart, and the Creation of their Township in 1296."

August, 1835.—Dr. Leglay, while pursuing his investigations in the archives and libraries of the department of the North, has found several manuscripts which he considers worthy of attention, and deserve, according to him, to be printed and published by the government, if not entire, at least in the greater part. He has remarked, in the first instance, two chapters, until now inedited, of the "Chronicle of Molinet." Perhaps it would be desirable to order these fragments to be copied, with a view to their future publication in a collection of different pieces. The "Memoirs of Robert d'Esclaibes," a gentleman of Hainault, who served in the army of the League in the time of Henry III. and Henry IV. have been named by M. Leglay; those of the Baron de Fuverdin, forming at least ten thick volumes, have also seemed to him to contain a host of interesting, and in many cases new information on the public affairs of the 17th century. If the committee deem it expedient to follow up the propositions of M. Leglay, he would supply

fresh details on these two works, in addition to those already contained in the letter addressed by him to the minister of Public Instruction. We have confined ourselves provisionally to thanking M. Leglay for the communications he has addressed to the minister; a more precise answer will be forwarded to him when you have consulted the committee on this subject.

M. Jouffroy and M. Weiss have also indicated as an historical monument of high importance a "History, in sixteen books, of the Wars of Franche-Comté, from 1632 to 1642," by the Sieur Girardot de Beauchemin, Counsellor of the Parliament of Dôle, and member of the government of the province at that epoch. This work interests, not only by the exposition of facts it details, but also by a lively, energetic style, by the faithful reflection of the spirit of the time, and by a remarkable acquaintance with political events. The minister, your predecessor, had authorized M. Weiss to occupy himself with the publication of this history. He questioned him as to the plan he intended to adopt, when he could commence, and how much time would be necessary for the accomplishment of the undertaking. M. Weiss has not yet communicated his answer.

Various documents, forming part of the unpublished papers of the Cardinal de Granvelle, have been collected at Brussels by the Baron de Reiffenberg and M. Cachard, keeper of the archives of Belgium. They are anxious to forward these documents to you, which have been placed at the disposal of the commission of Besançon.

September 14.—M. Larrigandière, a bookbinder at Moissac (Tarn and Garonne), and the possessor of a certain number of charters and manuscripts relating to the abbey of Moissac, proposes to sell these documents to the government.

The minister of Public Instruction has not yet been able to obtain sufficient information as to the value of pieces offered to him, to be in a position to form any decision on

that point. There are besides no funds in the budget of the ministry, available for expenses of this nature. If we were to employ in the purchase of historical papers which have fallen into the hands of private persons, the credit destined for the labours of research and publication, this credit, already very limited, would soon become inadequate; and the ministry not being able, moreover, to preserve in its archives the documents it might have purchased, would find itself compelled to resign them to those establishments which possess resources for acquisitions of that nature. M. Larrigandière has therefore kept his manuscripts. He threatens *to employ them in the labours of his business.* These are the expressions he has used. It seems to me desirable to call the attention of the committee to this matter.

October 6, 1835.—M. Buchot sends a report on several manuscripts of George Chastelaur, which he says he discovered while visiting the libraries of ancient Flanders. There is no longer an opportunity of entertaining his proposals. Since he wrote to the minister on this subject, he has announced the intention of publishing these documents on his own account, in the general collection he has promised to the public.

November 18.—M. de Formeville, Counsellor in the Royal Court of Caen, and correspondent of the ministry, communicates an inventory of the documents he has collected in various public and private depositories of the department of Calvados. M. de Formeville's letter, and the notes accompanying it, have been considered with the greatest care by M. Champollion, and according to the advice given by the latter to the late minister, fresh instructions have been forwarded to M. de Formeville, the answer to which we are now expecting.

November 20.—M. Maillet, correspondent of the ministry, and librarian of the town of Rennes, announces that there exists, in a small commune situated about six leagues from

that place, a manuscript of 1225, containing the concessions and privileges granted by Duke Peter, called De Mauclerc, and confirmed by his successors. Other communications of M. Maillet have been examined by M. Fallot. We wait the answer which M. Maillet should address to the ministry, in accordance with the special instructions he has received since that epoch.

November 22.—The Baron de Gaujal, First President of the Royal Court of Limoges, informs the minister that he has completed the collection of the customs and privileges of the towns of the ancient province of Rouergue, from the commencement of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth. I am of opinion that these documents embrace sufficient interest for publication at the expense of the state, in the collection of inedited monuments connected with the history of France.

December 6.—M. Adhelm Bernier proposes to publish, as a sequel to the "Journal of the Sessions of the Privy Council of King Charles VIII.," the following pieces, which he guarantees to be hitherto inedited:—

1. An original document concerning the Dukes of Lorraine; and, amongst others, the one who figures prominently in the privy council of Charles VIII.

2. Historical verses on Charles VIII., consisting of the prophecy on King Charles by Guilloche, and of a satire entitled, "The Eldest Daughter of Fortune; or, Praise of Anne of Beaujeu."

The minister not having acquired precise information as to the manuscripts named by M. Bernier, and proposing, on the other hand, to publish very speedily the "Journal of the Council," has remitted to the examination of the committee the new propositions of M. Bernier.

January 24, 1836.—The same M. Bernier transmits to the minister the unpublished "Chronicle of Gaston IV., Count of Foix, governor for Charles VIII. and Louis XI. of the

province of Guienne," written by William Leseur, his domestic, and copied from the unique manuscript in the Royal Library.

January 12.—The Baron Langier de Chartroule, correspondent, and formerly mayor of Arles, forwards a notice of a vast number of historical documents, extracted from the archives of that town. M. de Chartroule scarcely gives more than the titles: if one of the members of the committee would take the trouble of examining them, we might request from M. de Chartroule more extensive and circumstantial details.

January 12.—M. Henri, correspondent and librarian of the town of Perpignan, acquaints us with the result of the researches to which he has devoted himself in various depositories of archives. The particulars he supplies are too vague to authorize, on this scanty information, compliance with the desire expressed by M. Henri for a special allocation to follow up these researches.

January 31.—M. Léchandé d'Anisy, correspondent at Caen, gives information on the remains of the archives of the abbey of Savigny, deposited in the sub-prefecture of Mortain. The minister had specially charged M. Léchandé d'Anisy to examine these documents, to which his attention had been called. It appears to be demonstrated that they are far from having the importance they were supposed to possess.

January 31.—M. Legonidec, who has long devoted himself to a profound study of the Breton and Gallois dialects, begs the minister to give him a commission to search for Celtic manuscripts and charters which may possibly exist in Brittany and the neighbouring provinces. The minister has decided that this proposition should be submitted to the committee.

February 9.—M. Ollivier, correspondent at Valence (Drôme), forwards a very elaborate report on the manuscripts connected with the history of France, possessed by the city

of Grenoble. An indemnity has been granted to M. Ollivier, and he has been instructed to continue his work of investigation.

February 26.—M. Chambaud, Secretary of Administration to the Museum Calvet at Avignon, has undertaken, by order of the prefect of Vaucluse, and with the authority of the minister, to scrutinize the commercial archives of his department. He communicates in a first letter, the results of his labours.

Finally, Mr. Minister, particular missions have been intrusted to certain individuals.

M. Michelet has made a list of the catalogues of manuscripts in the libraries of Poitiers, La Rochelle, Angoulême, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Limoges, and Bourges: a detailed report has been sent by him to the minister of Public Instruction.

Another report has been forwarded by M. Granier de Cassagnac, employed to make a tour in certain departments of the south-west of France, with a view to verify the state of the archives and the labours of the correspondents.

M. Dugua, correspondent for the department of Vaucluse, has also communicated the results of the work he had undertaken, by order of the minister, on the historic manuscripts in the library of Carpentras, and on those belonging to M. Requien, of Avignon.

Such, sir, are the labours completed, commenced, or proposed. I have nothing to say on all that has been finished. For what has been commenced, the question is, to proceed; the enlightened zeal of the associates of the ministry requires no stimulant, for every day a remarkable progress manifests itself in their undertakings. As to various proposals that have been made to you, the committee will examine them in order, and consider how far it will be desirable to carry them into effect. I shall confine myself to observing that the funds allotted in the budget for historical labours, far from exceeding their requirements, would, on the con-

trary, prove insufficient, if the administration did not consider it a duty to postpone many useful undertakings, if it merely awarded to all persons employed suitable and well-earned indemnities. In every quarter of the kingdom, long and painful researches are unremittingly carried on; there is scarcely a depôt of importance that has not been ransacked with a degree of activity the more worthy of praise, as it has nearly always been disinterested. The love of knowledge alone excites to these exertions. You will consider, without doubt, that it touches the honour,—I will even say, that it falls within the duty of the government,—to associate itself more and more with these noble efforts, by protecting and seconding them with all the means at its disposal; and particularly by increasing the resources necessary to guarantee their duration and secure their success.

The Chief of the Y Division,

Signed: ROYER-COLLARD.

No. XI.

(Page 181.)

Laws to resist Disorder and support Power.	*Laws to extend and secure Public Liberty.*
1830.	1830.
Dec. 10.—Law on posting-bills, bill-stickers, and public criers.	*Sept.* 12.—Law for the re-election of deputies appointed to public offices.
	Oct. 8.—Law for the application of juries to political offences, and offences of the press.
	Oct. 11.—Law relative to the annual vote for the contingent of the army.
	Dec. 14.—Law reducing the amount of security and stamp-duty on newspapers.
1831.	1831.
April 8.—Law on the security required from newspapers, or periodicals, modifying Art. 1 of the act of the 14th Dec. 1830.	*Feb.* 8.—Law placing the salaries of Jewish worship at the charge of the state.
——— Law on the mode of process in offences of the press, bill-sticking, and public crying.	*March* 4.—Law on the composition of the assize courts, and on jury notices.
April 10.—Law on riotous meetings.	*March* 21.—Law on municipal organization.
	March 22.—Law respecting the national guard.
	April 19.—Law on election to the Chamber of Deputies.

1832.

April.—Law authorizing the government to suspend for a year the election of municipal councils in certain townships.

1832.

April 16.—Law bestowing on government the faculty of authorizing marriages between brothers and sisters-in-law.

April 28.—Law containing modifications in the penal code, and in the code on collecting criminal evidence.

1833.

April 24.—Law on the exercise of civil and political rights in the colonies.

April 24.—Law on the legislative system of the colonies.

June 22.—Law on the organization of general councils of departments, and divisional councils.

June 28.—Law on elementary education.

1834.

Feb. 16.—Law against public criers.

—— 23.—Law conferring on quarter-masters, and non-commissioned officers of gendarmerie, in eight departments of the west, the temporary powers of officers of judiciary police.

April 10.—Law against combinations.

1834.

April 20.—Law on the departmental and municipal organization of the department of the Seine and of Paris.

May 19.—Law on the condition of officers.

1834.

May 24.—Law against the manufacturers, retailers, distributors, and detainers of arms and munitions of war.

1835.

Sept. 9.—Law on crimes, offences, and contraventions of the press, and other channels of publication.

Sept. 9.—Law on the assize courts.

———Law on juries and transportation.

1836.

May 13.—Law on the secret votes of juries.

1835.

June 22.—Law modifying criminal legislation in the colonies.

1837.

July 14.—Law on the organization of the national guard in the department of the Seine.

July 18.—Law on municipal administration.

1838.

May 10.—Law on the functions of general councils, and of councils of divisions.

1845.

June.—Law to prepare the emancipation of slaves in the colonies.

July.—Law to complete the preceding act.

No. XII.

Narrative of the Insurrection of Lyons, in April, 1834; written in May, 1834, by an Eye-witness.

THE voice of the Lyonese press, at one moment interrupted and smothered by the report of cannon, is heard once more, after the re-establishment of material order. Some persons are simple enough to be astonished at this, while others are grieved.

I am neither astonished nor grieved. I know that, by the blessing of God, to fill up the abyss that opened, it has not been necessary to cast into it either a liberty or a principle. I know that the laws need not be offered up as a holocaust to propitiate the manes of those who have died for the law; I know that we have no occasion to assume the buckler, even to crush our enemy; I know that those irregular inquests which daily polemics are accustomed to hold on great events, often present wholesome lessons and profound truths, while they call back our minds, naturally so oblivious, to the meditation of accomplished facts.

But I also feel and know, that it is the paramount duty of every upright citizen to tender his conscientious testimony in this great proceeding, and that we are ill received if we complain of the abuse which some make of the privilege of publishing their thoughts, while we refuse to employ our own in the defence of truth.

For this reason, I have not hesitated to take up my pen, to describe as truly and completely as I possibly can, the particulars of the contest which lately deluged Lyons with blood; the causes which led to it, and the consequences that will probably ensue. The narrative is written hastily, and at a moment when all the facts have not yet been officially stated; but the fear of committing involuntarily a few partial mistakes shall not deter me from combating the general and systematic misrepresentations which are sought to be established.

Above all other considerations, it is essential, in the first place, to make known the true character of the movement so lately excited.

Politically, there is nothing that menaces our future. It was the last effort of a party which offered and lost the battle they announced to us in the tribune. It was the concluding act of a drama which has been too long and too sanguinary.

Commercially, on the other hand, this event combines some most unfavourable symptoms. It shows us the question of the Lyonese manufactory, ever the same, since 1831; and this question, independent of the general march of affairs, and the progressive security of constitutional government, is not amongst those that can be estimated by force. Victory gained would, in this sense, possess little intrinsic value; we should have to prepare ourselves for a repetition of it every year, until the commerce of Lyons would be completely ruined.

Fortunately, the matter does not present itself thus: fortunately, the insurrection of 1834, exhibits to the eyes of all, the purely political banner under which it was arrayed: it has proclaimed aloud its rallying word,—*a Republic;* a word very different from that echoed in 1831,—*a Tariff.*

Nevertheless, the habit has become so confirmed of seeing in Lyons merely a contest between the manufacturers of silk and their workmen, that many well-thinking persons can

discover nothing else in the recent occurrences. According to them, the insurgents are always operatives; April revenges November.

It is particularly to reasoners of this class that I address the following reflections. As to the writers in the "Precursor," and the members of the "Society for the Rights of Man," they know better than I do the real state of the case; but they act their true parts when they repudiate all participation in an attempt that has failed.

A preliminary fact calls for observation: the small number of silk labourers who took part in the insurrection. Let the return of wounded civilians, carried to the hospitals, be consulted, with that of the killed and prisoners; it will be found that scarcely one-tenth belonged to the silk manufactories. There is a more striking fact still: these lists indicate six strangers for every Lyonese. It is the peculiar characteristic of political tumults to employ, almost exclusively, men attached by no family ties, to the city they expose to blood and fire.

I entreat those who would still see, in a cause which enlisted so small a number of Lyonese and silk operatives, the special cause of Lyons and its staple article of commerce, to recall the really industrial crisis of 1831, and to compare the programme of that rising, with the plan of the late one. In 1831, they rose to the terrible cry of *Let us live by our work, or die in fighting for it.* In 1834, they declared war by reading, in the square of St. John, a long proclamation remarkable for nothing but its essentially political character. Here it is:—

"Citizens,

"The audacity of our rulers is far from abating. They hope thus to conceal their weakness, but they deceive themselves. The people are too clear-sighted in the present day. Is it not also known that all France abandons them, and that there is not one conscientious man, whatever may be

his position, manufacturer or labourer, citizen or soldier, who dares to proclaim himself their defender! . . .

"Citizens, hear what the government of Louis-Philippe, has lately done. . . . By decrees of the 7th of this month, it has appointed several courtiers, enemies of the people, to highly lucrative posts. These are so many additional blood-suckers, who are panting to gorge themselves with the gold we have so much difficulty in collecting, to pay overwhelming taxes. Amongst these is Barthe, the renegade, who is also nominated a peer of France. . . . Thus are men rewarded, destitute of honour or conscience, while all who are useful to their country are suffered to die in indigence: the workmen, for instance, and the old soldiers. Why are you surprised at this? The latter are honest and brave; they cherish existence only because it gives them the faculty of loving and serving their country. This also, is the reason why they are imprisoned, killed in the streets, or transported to Algiers! Such is not the manner in which a national and republican government would conduct itself.

"But the most significant act of royalty is the appointment of Persil, to the ministry of Justice! . . . Persil, citizens, is a purveyor for the scaffold! . . . It is Persil who would have sacrificed the heads of the first patriots in France, and if the juries have refused them to him, it proceeds from no want of urgency on his part! . . . It is Persil who was infamous enough to take the lead in declaring that associations should be put down, and trial by jury abolished! . . . By selecting him for minister, royalty has adopted all the ideas and antipathies of the man! It will now leave him an unfettered course! . . . Unhappy France! will she indeed descend to the depth of slavery and shame to which they are conducting her? . . . The law against associations is at this moment under debate in the Chamber of Peers. We all know that it will pass there at once. We shall see it, therefore, before long, placarded in our streets! . . . You perceive, citizens,

it is not only our national honour and liberty that they wish to destroy; it is our common life, our very existence that is attacked. By abolishing associations, they seek to prevent the working-classes from maintaining themselves in necessity and sickness; above all, from helping each other in the attempt to ameliorate their wretched lot! . . . The people are just and good; those who attribute to them ideas of devastation and blood are *infamous calumniators;* but those who deny them *their rights and their bread,* are infinitively more guilty.

"Labourers, soldiers, all you children of heroic France, will you submit to these evils with which you are menaced? will you consent to bow your necks under the yoke of infamy prepared for your country? No; it is French blood that flows in your veins, they are French hearts that beat in your bosoms; you cannot, therefore, become assimilated to vile slaves. You will all understand each other to save France, and to restore to her the just title of *the First of Nations.* . . . April 8, 1834."

I ask, is this the battle-cry of workmen against their masters? Is this an affair of wages or tariff? No; all industrial questions are forgotten, to think of nothing but M. Persil and the law against associations: it is impossible to declare more explicitly the spirit in which it was proposed to act; and this spirit has presided over the insurrection to the last moment; the republican placards, the red flag, the compulsory *theeing* and *thouing;* everything indicated an armed protest against the government of July, much more than against the organization of the manufacture of Lyons.

If the question were less serious, I might pause here; but it is of importance to answer all objections, to dissipate all doubts. With this object, I propose to ascend higher, and to explain by an abridged history of the crisis which preceded the late occurrences, how the industrial dispute became gradually extinct, under the influence of a prudent administra-

tion; how it abdicated in favour of the political quarrel; how the *Society for the Rights of Man* absorbed the *Society of the Mutualists;* and how politics alone inspired, directed, and executed the insurrectional movement of April.

It is well known that the manufacture of silk has four distinct wheels of machinery; the workman, the foreman, the manufacturer, and the commissioner. Of these four wheels, three are necessary, but the interference of the foreman, who receives the materials from the manufacturer, and hands them over to the workmen, to whom he hires out his looms, seems only calculated to diminish injuriously the wages of the latter. More idle and ambitious than the simple operative, the foreman is also more turbulent; but, on the other hand, he is more moral, better informed, and further removed from ideas of pillage and complete subversion. The foremen excited the revolt of November, 1831; but they also restrained that fatal victory; they prevented it from degenerating into fire and devastation.

As to the workpeople, their essential deficiency is the foresight with which to a certain point the foremen are endowed. When salaries are raised, they increase their expenditure, and never lay aside a cent for a rainy day. At Lyons, the savings' bank receives no deposits: thus the labourer sees with terror the arrival of the moment for the cessation of work in the factories, and the reduction of wages. His fixed idea is a tariff,—which means a minimum, below which he cannot, under any circumstances, reduce the payment for a day's work.

This tariff was at first demanded from the administrative authority. In 1831, the petition was presented to M. Bouvier Dumolard, by thirty thousand organized men. He consented to it, and this crowd, mad with delight at seeing their dream realized, retired with shouts of *Long live Dumolard! Long live our father!* The prefect slept tranquilly in the midst of these protestations of love. He believed that he had settled the problem.

But he reckoned without considering the necessities of commerce, which not permitting the manufacturer to work at a loss, impress impotence and ridicule on all attempts to assess permanently the price of daily work. The masters protested against the absurd covenant imposed on them; the workmen, strong in the mistake committed, hastened to the market-place to defend the treaty they looked upon as their charter. The garrison was driven out, and the population of the workshops, compelled a few days afterwards to bow their heads before an army, preserved nevertheless at the bottom of their hearts, the recollection that for a time they had remained in possession of the field of battle. A fatal remembrance, which inflamed their pretensions, encouraged the thought of a new appeal to force, and demanded perhaps a sanguinary denial. In this sense, but in this sense only, the April of 1834, might pass as a revenge for the November of 1831.

The second time, the tariff was not required from the government, but from free discussion and the laws. The tribunal of the masters of companies was the arena of the new debate. The *Echo of the Manufactory* became the organ of the claims of the working class; but these senseless demands could not succeed on such a ground. It was speedily abandoned.

Organized force was finally resorted to. This last attempt having failed in February, 1834, the industrial crisis expired; it had no new transformation to undergo.

This calls for some details.

The *Society of Mutualists* is composed of foremen. That of the *Ferraudinians*, formed on its model, admits labourers or journeymen. These two societies, already old, assumed some importance after the Revolution of July, and particularly since the manufacturing question had entered into its third period, that of which we are now speaking. Divided into lodges of twenty members, governed by a central committee

of twenty individuals, organized, in a word, like all the political associations which have since ended by absorbing them, the *Mutualists* and *Ferraudinians* fancied they could impose the tariff by seizing the powerful weapon of interdiction from work.

The means of execution were,—1. The cessation of work for the advantage of every manufacturer who refused to submit to the orders of the societies; 2. The desertion of the looms of the non-submissive foremen; 3. A relief fund for the operatives placed out of work by their adhesion.

This fund, scarcely sufficient for partial interruptions, was quite inadequate to indemnify the workpeople for the evil brought on them by a general suspension, and it is in this emergency that those considerable donations proceeding from sources in general unknown, sustained a zeal which threatened speedily to grow cool. This is not the only fact which marks the interference, gradually becoming more decided, of political parties in the industrial quarrel. Before long, the interruptions affected the opinions of the foremen, as also their disobedience to the regulations of the Mutualists. But let us not anticipate the march of events.

Against the mode of carrying out their plan, adopted by the workmen, legal means were powerless; an absolute system of non-intervention was prescribed to authority. It had no other mission than to protect the foremen and the manufacturers against material force, and to secure them from the threats which every act of firmness drew upon them.

This line of conduct, extremely simple in appearance, presented immense difficulties: to remain calm and impartial in the midst of these passionate debates; to resist insulting provocations on the one hand, and urgent prayers on the other; to be contented with seeing, for some time, their intentions, or at least their superior knowledge, disowned, and to wait their re-acknowledgement from a slow, remote, and doubtful success;—such was the position that it became

necessary to submit to with resolution, and not to abandon for a single moment. The struggle which ended in February, 1834, forms the most glorious epoch in the painful administration of M. de Gasparin. By dint of prudence, skill, and courage, he gained, over the evil passions of the manufactory, a decisive victory, the influence of which re-acted upon that of April, and may be remembered without bitterness as having cost no French blood.

It was in the nature of the *Society of the Mutualists* to connect itself more closely, by degrees and almost unconsciously, with the political associations, and ultimately to become absorbed by them. At first, it assumed the character of their ally in opposition to the existing state of things, which equally offended all, although under different relations. This occurred at the end of 1833: at that period a great explosion began to foment. The entry of the labourers into Switzerland, and the general suspension of work at Lyons, supplied the signal. The two operations took place simultaneously on the 10th of February, 1834.

Fortunately the Swiss government, suspecting the project of General Ramorino and his refugees, adopted measures which compelled them to forestall the selected day. The expedition, badly arranged, failed entirely. The *Mutualists* kept faith, but at the appointed moment. On the 10th of February all the looms ceased to work.

The city of Lyons then presented a truly strange spectacle: the warehouses were closed, the workshops empty; fifty thousand operatives paraded the streets; and hoping to reduce the manufacturers by famine, they had the constancy to support eight entire days of idleness, without any other resources than the trifling succours of those who sustained their courage and kept their hopes alive.

These hopes were entirely falsified; the manufacturers held out to the end; and eight days of suspended work produced not a cent of augmentation in the amount of wages.

The labourers, feeling the full weight of this experience, turned their resentment against those who had flattered them with chimerical expectations. From that moment the industrial associations ceased to possess independent existence and action; the *Mutualists*, incorporated in a vast proportion with the *Society for the Rights of Man*, became in reality the agents of the latter. The *Ferraudinians*, dissatisfied with the *Mutualists*, withdrew from their intrigues; and in this situation the last events found the manufactory of Lyons. Am I wrong in saying that in 1834 February saved April?

In proportion as these industrial societies became divided and extinguished, the *Political Association of the Rights of Man*, which swallowed up the relics of the others, increased daily in importance, audacity, and influence. Messrs. Garnier Pagès, Cavaignac, and Romarino brought to it from time to time instructions from the parent society, while they investigated and reformed its organization and plans.

It was especially after the introduction of the Bill for the suppression of associations, and on the approach of the insurrection of April, that the society manifested unusual activity. On the 30th of March it attempted to meet at the Brotteaux to protest against the Bill; but the approaches to that locality being occupied by a picket of infantry and fifty dragoons, the central committee perceived the impossibility of penetrating to the indicated spot, and retired without attempting anything.

At the same epoch, the society despatched a special delegate to Paris, who visited, in passing, their brethren at Châlons, Beaune, and Dijon, distributing the watch-word for the general explosion appointed to take place.

Meanwhile, the *Mutualists*, as we have said above, became more and more confounded with the *Society of the Rights of Man*. The *Echo of the Manufactory*, which is their organ, said positively, in the number for March 30: "If, in the order of the day, quoted by M. Prunelle, it is recom-

mended to expel from the lodges the printed copies of the *Rights of Man*, it is a measure of temporary discipline, and not a permanent prescription; these papers have never been prohibited in ordinary times, which is the more consistent, as many of the *Mutualists* are members of the *Society for the Rights of Man*, and of several other political bodies."

At last, as the moment for action approached, the central committee felt the necessity of addressing all the different sectionaries, and of fortifying itself in a new election. Such was the object of the following circular:—

"Lyons, the 15th of Germinal, in the 42nd year of the Republican Era (the 4th of April, 1834).

"Unity, Equality, Association, Propagandism.

"The Central Committee, for the Department of the Rhône, of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, to the citizens composing the Sections.

"Citizens,

"As circumstances become more serious, the more do those you have chosen to direct the powerful action springing from your devotedness and convictions, feel the necessity of a perfect understanding with you, and of ascertaining clearly and determinately the spirit by which you are animated. With this object we had resolved that a general assembly should be held; but, confident in the precautions we had taken, we thought we might equally rely on the discretion or firmness of those with whom we had been compelled to treat for a suitable locality. The authorities have been forewarned, and the meeting prevented.

"We have thought it proper to call together without delay, those who in its most extended sense represent the society, and to the heads of the sections we have verbally stated our actual position, and made a report of our labours during the quarter of the year which has recently expired. You will

each require from the head of your section a summary of this report; but we feel it necessary to aid their memories by repeating to you ourselves the following particulars:—

"With regard to finance, the commitee has complained of the want of exactness which has been observed in the payment of the appointed contributions to the hands of the treasurer. It has announced that an arrear is still due for the month of January; that only one half of the sections have paid for February, and that no instalment whatever has been made for March; that, meanwhile, the expenses have gone on, even during the last month named, and that the chief item amongst them is comprised in the sums disbursed for the prisoners of Lyons or St. Etienne, which reaches at least 600 francs; that, in this situation, it is impossible to furnish on the instant a correct state of the finances during this quarter; that the committee has formally required the heads of sections to pay up their contributions at the approaching assembly of the district councils, and to appoint two auditors, for whose inspection the general accounts will be handed over by the treasurer, according to rule.

"The committee has signified, as the organ of the society, and with thoroughly republican frankness, the dissatisfaction it feels in consequence of the inconceivable conduct of certain heads of sections, who, in contempt of the regulations, a formal obligation we are all bound to follow as long as they embrace no material impossibility, have endeavoured, an infinitely feeble minority as they are, to lead the majority by indirect ways to the adoption of their projects. It was nothing short of anarchy and division that they sought to introduce into our ranks, and at the precise moment too, when more than ever we required unity of purpose; but, in spite of all efforts, they have not succeeded in their attempts, and it is more by the estimation in which they were held than by internal strength that they have injured the society, for the last meeting of the heads of sections has amply confirmed us in the

opinion we already held, that the mischief emanated from three or four citizens alone.

"Nevertheless, the committee, principally on account of the serious position in which France is placed, and the immense increase of sectionaries during the last quarter, is desirous of ascertaining whether it is still to be considered the faithful and true representative of the society, and whether it is the will of the majority of the actual members that the trust with which it is invested should be continued. With the view of not controlling on any point the expression of the desire of each sectionary, the members composing the committee have announced that they tender their resignation. In consequence, the heads of the sections have been requested to apprise all the members, without delay, that a meeting will be held on Sunday, for the purpose of a new election.

"Citizens,

"You are about to perform an act of perfect sovereignty, without personal consideration for us, but by solely examining the services rendered to our cause; you will determine your choice, with reference to necessary pledges of devotedness and self-denial for the future. Until the general expression of your wishes is made known, we shall continue the management you have confided to us. If, during that interval, unexpected events should occur, you will find us what we shall ever be, prepared for every sacrifice which the well-understood interest of the holy Republican cause may demand. Filled with respect for your wishes, we shall consider ourselves honoured in resuming, if requisite, our places as simple sectionaries, and shall continue to labour with our accustomed zeal. But we declare to you, that from this moment, we shall oppose directly and by every possible means, whoever may attempt for the future to act contrary to our established rules, and to bring confusion into the society.

"To secure the regularity of the electoral proceedings, the committee has established the following arrangements.

"The rules require that elections should take place in a general assembly; but all the sectionaries must be aware that it is physically impossible to carry out this article, since, independently of the difficulty of collecting them together for an entire day in any place where they would be secured from the interference of the authorities, bad weather, which we cannot prevent, might render voting impossible; that, besides, every one must be aware how difficult it would be to proceed in such an enormous assembly, and with the order requisite, to a ballot which it would be impossible afterwards to scrutinize, since two days would probably be insufficient to complete this operation; that the obstacles being acknowledged, and a precedent already in existence with the approbation of the sectionaries, the society feels itself to-day placed in this position,—either to abolish or modify in good faith an article of its regulations. In such a contingency, there can be no hesitation as to the choice; for this reason the committee determines:—

"1. The sections shall be separately assembled in the usual place of their sittings.

"2. After the sitting is opened, the chief shall read the present circular.

"3. The seven future members of the committee shall be appointed by an absolute majority of votes. In case two rounds of balloting shall not give this majority to one or more of the members proposed, the election shall be determined at the third round by a relative majority.

"4. A report shall be drawn up immediately of the result of the votes, certified to be correct by the chief, the sub-chief, and the first quintumvirate of the sections, and then sealed.

"5. All the reports shall be delivered on Monday, at seven o'clock precisely, by the heads of the divisions. They will then be opened and read in a meeting to be held the same day. The result will be proclaimed, and ultimately announced to the sections in a new circular.

"Health and fraternal greeting—

"The members of the committee:—Poujol, J. T. Hugon, P. A. Martin, E. Baune, Edward Albert, Silvain Court, Bartholon."

This production is open to many remarks; I shall not pause to indulge in them; I shall only say that the central committee continued its manifestoes during the whole of the conflict, as proved by the order of the day I am about to transcribe, and which is dated, like the circular above quoted, *in the forty-second year of the republic.* We see that it assumes its own legitimacy, and takes no account of the reign of the usurpers:—

"At Vienne, the national guard is in possession of the town; it has seized the artillery despatched against us. Everywhere the insurrection spreads. Patience and courage! The garrison must become weakened and demoralized. Even if it should maintain its position, all it can do will be to hold out until the arrival of our brethren from the departments; with break of day we shall receive favourable news.

"Lyons, the twenty-second of Germinal, in the forty-second year of the republic."

Let all then bear the responsibility of their deeds. It is to the political parties that Lyons owes its last misfortunes.

It will be said that the insurrection would have exploded vainly in other places, in Paris, for example, in the first instance, if it had been really republican, as long as in Lyons it betrayed a totally different origin. But these arguers forget that disorder, so often subdued in Paris, has abandoned that city, where an active police, an immense army, and a national guard, unanimous in its devotion, allowed it no longer the slightest chance of success. They forget that factions have emigrated to Lyons, where they have established the centre and home of all their intrigues; that they have conferred on that city the melancholy honour of being not only, for them, an industrial, but a political capital.

And, in fact, where could they find elements more favourably disposed for the triumph of anarchy? Where meet those remains of societies of workmen whose discontent is so easily stirred up? Where find a position so menacing of the lower orders with reference to the possessors of capital? Where else encounter the memories of November 1831? Where light upon a city more extensive and important in every respect, more influential by its position between the republicans of Burgundy and the legitimists of the South? Where select one more abandoned to the serious dangers ever engendered by a predominant manufacture? It is evident that revolt, whatever might be its character, would find here its centre and principal point of support.

Moreover, the explosion was not destined to be local. The promulgation of the law on associations spread the signal throughout all France. The anarchists of Lyons felt called upon to give fire before the order was issued. They thought that by seizing the opportunity of the prosecutions of the *Mutualists*, they would find the means of attaching to their cause all the labourers in silk who had begun to renounce disorders. By this step they were enabled to increase here the number of their partizans; but they commenced an isolated movement, and greatly facilitated its suppression.

As I have alluded to this law against associations, the promulgation of which became the signal of a protest under volleys of musketry, let me be permitted to explain my unreserved ideas on the written protests which preceded and prepared the last. I can state them without hesitation, for I declare at once that I hold intentions as sacred. I believe that the most honourable views may be entertained by those who embrace the republican or the legitimist party. I can believe, and this admission scandalises many, that patriotism may possibly encourage street tumults and the violation of the laws. I lament the mistake of those who expect to

accomplish their ends by mischievous means; but in the absence of contrary proof, I give credit to their disinterestedness and sincerity.

These reservations being granted, I declare that of all the anarchical attempts which have taken place within the last three years, I know none more monstrous than that of the honourable M. Pagès (de l'Ariegè) on the law upon associations. In a civilized nation, governed by a legal system, a citizen who violates the law, and violates it with thorough knowledge, who can proclaim loudly the necessity of this outrage, ought to excite against his proceedings the animadversion of all parties; for all are interested in what concerns the law, which is the exclusive property of no one. But when a citizen is himself a legislator, when he takes advantage of the tribune to place himself there, in the face of the country, as an adversary of the law which has just been adopted; when he tramples under foot those two great maxims of representative government, respect for the majority and veneration for the law; when he appeals to every opposition to associate himself with them all; when he lays down this anti-social principle, that every one, in conclusion, is to pronounce judgment on the legislation of the country, and can select, either for rejection or adoption, the arrangements which suit him, or those which suit him not, —here I find the acme of moral disorder: there are no words sufficiently expressive in which to denounce such a dangerous system.

I believe that astonishment must have closed the mouths of all M. Pagès' colleagues, for no one took up the word in reply to his doctrines, and demanded the indispensable commentary on his speech,—a call to order; thus other deputies have protested after his example: thus we have seen, as quite in ordinary, the journals open their columns to the protests of all the malcontents throughout the provinces. Then succeeded protests with arms in hand, which

assuredly M. Pagès had no desire to excite, but which nevertheless followed as a logical deduction from his words. There was propably some exaggeration in assuming that the 6th of June, 1831, emanated from the *Public Report*, (*Compte Rendu*,) but no one can deny that the protests of the deputies were translated into musket shots on the 9th of April, 1834.

Amongst the journals which have denied the political origin of the late events, "The Precursor" calls for special mention. It founded an argument on the articles it published a few days before, and in which it preached, if not peace and concord, at least the renunciation of all projects of armed aggression.

I am not amongst those who think that under these pacific counsels "The Precursor" concealed a secret desire of commencing hostilities. I believe, on the contrary, that it belongs to that small fraction of the republicans which sincerely dreads a revolt, and considers the moment for revolution not yet arrived; but what it either does not see, or feigns to be blind to, is that it has been exceeded and overborne for a long time by the men of action, the impatient and thoughtless spirits of the party; that it had ceased to represent the republican opposition, and that consequently its articles and suggestions can no longer be received as truly reflecting the ideas of that faction. Usually, these parties wait the moment of triumph to disunite; but that of the republic had already deposed its first leaders, and had rapidly transferred the power of the men of the "National" and the "Precursor" to those of the "Tribune" and the "Gleaner." Let the elements of the party be judged by this proceeding, and let it no more be said that they do not repeat an earlier policy, that they do not re-commence a second time, and in the same manner, the scenes enacted before. But the second republic would assuredly not resemble the first; it would be less glorious and enduring. You would fail to find, as on the former occasion, those generous

patriots who, filled with enthusiasm for the movement of 1789, abandoned it only on the last extremity. From the first day you would have been governed solely by men of low repute, who would have hurried to display their senseless dreams, in compensation for the permanence and grandeur of which their reign would have presented no traces.

Let us hope that this last madness will detach from the anarchical party some distinguished characters who lend it the support of their names, but who must find themselves ill placed there, and probably but little appreciated. Let them compare, in the revolt of Lyons, the conduct of their partizans with that of the authorities. On the one side, every kind of insult and violence; on the other, the patience and moderation which belong to firmness. Some have reproached M. de Gasparin with not having seized every opportunity of chastisement and repression. It was because he wished to leave on the factions the entire odium of such a contest. Moreover, not a voice has been raised to attribute the conflict to the provocations of power; at a time when every sort of calumny found free vent, no one has invented this.

Neither has it ever been pretended that the explosion was to be assigned to some incidental or unlooked-for circumstance; it is generally considered as a premeditated enterprise deliberately prepared. For a long time attempts were made to seduce the soldiers of the garrison. From the eve of the insurrection, the houses to be taken possession of, those which had cross alleys or windows commanding several streets, were marked with chalk, and at the moment when the struggle began at the barricade of St. John's square, the attack on the Prefecture was already attempted, and barricades were erected in every quarter of the city and suburbs; in the strongest positions, the choice of which indicated a careful study of the ground, and a degree of skill in strategy to which soldiers rendered due praise.

This statement replies beforehand to the insinuations of those who look upon the tumult at the court, where the *Mutualists* were to be tried, as the cause of the insurrection which burst forth four days after; and attribute these disorders, moreover, to the imprudence or weakness of the administrative authority, leaving it to be understood that the latter is responsible for the blood that was shed. It is evident that it was in the power of no one to commence or prevent the explosion.

A few words will suffice to explain the scene at the Court of Justice.

The president of the tribunal and the King's attorney had conferred the previous evening with General Aymard and the Prefect, on the measures to be adopted. They insisted that no military display should surround the court, and appealed to every precedent that justified confidence and implied that justice should trust its strength to its own dignity, and not to the support of bayonets. The grandeur of these sentiments was appreciated, and the request the more readily acceded to, as the disposition of the *Society of Mutualists* was known, which recommended tranquillity to the work-people.

Nevertheless, the president, in spite of the arrangements of the eve, thought proper to call in soldiers to restrain the tumult, always produced by a numerous and excited crowd; he issued a requisition for a company of one hundred men, a force utterly insufficient in the midst of the multitude which encumbered the hall of the court of the Hôtel Chevrière and the square of St. John. This requisition, too, he made without previously warning the military and administrative authorities.

The picket summoned found itself therefore compromised, and almost utterly incapable of action. Its situation was the more awkward, as an incident subsequent to the rising of the court and relating to a witness for the prosecution unworthily

attacked, had changed the uneasiness and agitation of the crowd into active hostility. Hence arose disorders and excesses universally deplored, which the government was unable to foresee but promptly terminated.

Thus, to sum up in a few words these preliminary considerations, the Lyonese insurrection of 1834 was decidedly political. It was intended to explode simultaneously throughout all France, and the single desire of attaching the cause of the operatives in silk to that of the *Society of the Rights of Man*, accelerated the appointed time. It can neither be attributed to the provocations of the local authority, nor to the effect produced by a few particular and unexpected incidents.

I now turn to the history of the six days.

The trial of the *Mutualists* was postponed until Wednesday the 9th of April, 1834. It was evident to all the world, that if the insurrection was to take place, it would break out on that day. Thus every one prepared for it after his own fashion: the peaceable inhabitants emigrated in crowds; the hackney coaches and omnibuses were insufficient for the families who sought refuge in the country. During the interval, the *Society of the Rights of Man* and the military authorities prepared their arrangements for attack and defence.

The sections were unanimous for the rising; they believed the moment to be favourable; their members felt assured that the associates of Macon, Dijon, Grenoble, and St. Etienne, to whom they had written to hold themselves ready, would second the movement. They deceived themselves as to the spirit of the departments; they expected to fire a train of powder which in a few hours would spread the flame of sedition throughout the legitimist and republican provinces, and penetrate even within the walls of the capital. But their great error was in reckoning on the soldiers. The aspect of the company of the 7th light infantry, called on Saturday to the court of trial, had confirmed them in this idea;

besides which, they quoted complacently the names of certain under-officers enrolled in the society; they spoke of letters written by the artillerymen. Finally, they beguiled themselves with a hope, which from the first onset received the most conclusive denial. The more prudent wished to delay this attack until the sentence was passed; but it was remarked that by commencing so late, they would be in danger of not completing, within the day, the movement which should imprison each corps in the quarter where it was stationed, isolate the remainder of the garrison, interrupt their co-operation, and prevent any single command from regulating their action. When night fell, it would be impossible to keep the combatants at their posts, and the soldiers would profit by this circumstance to regain their positions and re-establish their interrupted communications.

These remarks decided the majority; it was settled that hostilities should commence at eleven o'clock, after the judges had opened the session. As to the plan of operations, I have already glanced at them. A first line of barricades was to be erected at once in every quarter of the city; the approaches to these were to be defended by firing from the windows and roofs, and during that time, a second line, better fortified, and more difficult to carry, would offer a fresh obstacle to the soldiers, in case they should succeed in forcing the first.

The insurgents were well supplied with powder, obtained by smuggling from Switzerland; and in addition, more was to be made in several quarters, after a receipt published by the "Gleaner," a few days before. Bullets were not wanting, but muskets were deficient. Many members of the society were instructed to traverse the neighbouring townships, and to disarm the national guards. A post was assigned to each section, and the work being thus distributed, they waited impatiently for the moment of action.

On his part, General Aymard made preparations; he

issued confidential instructions to the generals and commandants of corps; he ordered the officers to inspect carefully the localities in which they might be required to act; he supplied the principal forts and barracks with provisions and ammunition.

His plan so far coincided with that of the insurgents, that he also thought of dividing, isolating, and impeding all combination in their movements. On both sides the importance of this operation was fully estimated, and to which the extent of the city wonderfully contributed: it was understood that the party would win which should preserve its own communications while interrupting those of the enemy. Now, this great result was obtained from the first day by the troops, who carried the nearest barricades, and instantly occupied the positions which the general had assigned to them.

These positions were as follows:—

The first corps, commanded by General Fleury, extended from the barrier of St. Clair to the barrier of Serin, following the ramparts which separate Lyons from the Croix-Rousse, and occupied the barrack of the Bernardins. The second corps, established at the Hôtel de Ville, defended the line of the bridge of La Feuilleé, of the Terreaux, and of the bridge of Morand. It was under the orders of Colonel Dietmann, of the 27th regiment of the line, who fulfilled the duties of commandant of the place.

General Buchet directed the third corps, which separated Bellecour de Perrache from the rest of the city, extending from St. John to La Guillotière, by the bridge of the archbishop's palace to the Place Bellecour. General Dejean commanded in the square a reserve, which traversing incessantly the wide and straight streets of Perrache, maintained tranquillity in that quarter, and secured the rear of General Aymard, whose head-quarters were established in the Place Bellecour.

Thus, there were three lines of operations, intended to cut

the insurgents into four fractions, without mutual support or communication. This movement disconnected them the more effectually, as the absolute prohibition of going out, by confining the peaceable citizens to their dwellings, completely isolated the armed bands who were the objects of attack.

Such were the dispositions of the military powers, who moreover occupied all the bridges and communications by the quays. They were determined to repulse energetically the slightest aggressive movement, but orders were given to receive the fire of the insurgents before opening on them; it was resolved to cast on them to the last moment, the odium of provoking civil war. For the rest, there was no serious fear of the result; the garrison comprised an effective force of 6,500 disposable troops; the remaining 3,500 who completed their number, were absorbed in the hospitals, or by the guards of particular posts, which completely neutralized them: there were enough to conquer, but not sufficient to insure a prompt victory. It had, therefore, become necessary to foresee all chances, and we were assured that sufficient stores of flour had been laid in to feed the Lyonese population for nineteen days, in case the continuation of hostilities and the rising of the neighbouring departments should prevent the influx of fresh provisions.

On the morning of the 9th of April, the troops of the garrison, in marching order, with supplies of ammunition and food, repaired to the different posts assigned to them. In the Place Bellecour, several battalions of infantry were drawn up, massed towards the centre of the enclosure, on the side of the promenade of the lime trees; they were flanked by numerous detachments of dragoons and two batteries of artillery. The principal têtes-de-pont were occupied by pickets of infantry and cavalry, and some were defended by cannon. The Hôtel de Ville was surrounded by an imposing force; the troops in the barrack of the Bernardins were

ready to move. The approaches to the Court of Justice were guarded by the 7th regiment of light infantry, who had asked to be placed in the first line to wipe out the suspicions which had been cast upon their fidelity. They were posted chiefly in the court of the archbishop's palace.

At eleven o'clock, the Prefect took post in the gallery of the church of St. John, in front of the Hôtel de Chevrière, in which the correctional tribunal proceeded with the trial of the Mutualists. He was accompanied by Messrs. Faye, counsellor of Prefecture, Casenove, assistant, and Chinard, municipal adviser, who never quitted him for a moment during the six days; he wished to judge with his own eyes of the necessity and moment for repression. The square of St. John was silent and solitary; it was evident that the assailants intended to show themselves in mass; the sections of the *Rights of Man* were collected in their localities.

At half-past eleven, a troop arrived, a proclamation was read, and barricades were thrown up at the different angles of the square. At the same moment a general insurrection took place throughout the whole city.

The Prefect immediately apprised General Buchet of what had taken place, and ordered him to attack the barricades. The general moved out the troops from the archiepiscopal palace, and marched upon that obstructing the entrance to St. John street. A pistol-shot was fired on the soldiers; the colonel of gendarmes, Camusat, ordered a platoon to retort; it was followed by the 7th light infantry; the barricade was carried, and the insurgents took to flight.

Another barricade was erected in the Place Montazet, at the entrance of the street of the Priests. The Prefect repaired thither in person, with a section of voltigeurs; they were assailed by a shower of stones, and a well-dressed young man, standing on the flight of steps that commands the street, recognizing M. de Gasparin as Prefect, hurled against him an enormous paving-stone, which only missed its mark by a

few lines. Meanwhile the soldiers hesitated to engage in this narrow defile. Then the lieutenant ascended the flight of steps with a few men, cleared it of those he found there, and the abandoned barricade was occupied by the soldiers. In revenge, shots were fired from the windows, which marked the tactics of the insurgents, who in no quarter held their ground against the troops, but contented themselves with a war of attics and chimneys.

The assailants, driven from the square of St. John, retired to the bridge of the Exchange, defended on both sides by a strong barricade, and General Buchet was marching to dislodge them, when he saw that in passing from one barricade to another his force became dispersed, and a fire was opened upon his rear. He halted, and fell back on the right bank of the Saône, to the height of the prison of Roanne, where he intrenched himself.

But even before the first engagement in the quarter of St. John, a bold attempt was made, without success, in the Place Confort. An immense crowd, whose hostile intentions soon placed themselves beyond doubt, assembled before the hôtel of the Prefecture; the secretary-general, M. Alexandre, hastened at the approach of the tumult to close the iron gates; the picket of twenty-five men, on guard at the hôtel, drew up a few paces behind, in the court. Speedily, armed men possessed themselves of the planks of the temporary theatre to construct barricades, and shelter themselves, in case troops should file into the square; others prepared ladders and began to ascend them; the Prefecture was on the point of being carried, when General Dejean, who had been apprised by the son of the secretary-general, through the firing, despatched to the square a company of grenadiers of the 6th regiment. The insurgents took refuge in the temporary theatre, where they were able to intrench themselves; one amongst them less active in flight was killed by a bayonet thrust, on the ladder where he still lingered.

At the same moment, fresh troops despatched by General Aymard to this important point, marched into the square; a few cannon shots fired from the quay, by the new street of the Prefecture, dislodged the rebels shut up in the theatre; nothing remained but to silence a tolerably brisk fire from the windows, and particularly from the organ gallery. A cannon was brought up, which opened a passage for the soldiers, and some voltigeurs, at a charging pace, arrived at the other end of the street, at the same moment; a few men fell in this perilous passage, but the object was attained, and the gallery occupied.

Beyond that locality is an accumulation of narrow, winding streets, into which it was difficult and dangerous to pursue the insurgents. Nevertheless, General Buchet penetrated boldly into them; a combat ensued in the street of the hospital, and principally near a house entirely filled with skirmishers. To force an entrance into it, a petard was placed under the street door, but in exploding it set the whole building on fire, and as an extremely dry wind blew from the north, a general conflagration was apprehended. In fact, the fire communicated itself to the opposite house; but the engines from the hospital and prefecture arrived in time to check greater calamities; soldiers and insurgents laboured together to subdue the flames. As soon as that object was accomplished, all resumed their respective places, and the combat began again.

The day ended in that quarter by a sharp, well-sustained discharge upon the quay of the Rhône. The head of the bridge du Concert was briskly attacked; the soldiers intrenched in the pavilions of the bridge and extended in skirmishing order along the quay of Bon-rencontre, kept up an unremitting fire on all the abutting streets, and forced back the insurgents who attempted to issue from thence. But towards night this advanced post, being completely isolated on the side of the head-quarters of the rebels, and exposed to be carried by

them, was abandoned. Some pieces of artillery placed on the opposite bank battered that portion of the quay. But the communications on the right bank of the Rhône were completely interrupted.

At the Terreaux, Colonel Dietmann had not remained inactive; he carried a barricade erected at the corner of the Place des Carmes and that of La Boucherie. Following up his advantages, he advanced towards the Place de l'Herberie, where a petard applied to the door of a house destroyed the fronts of all the surrounding shops, and broke nearly every pane of glass in the quarter. But being compelled to make front to the north, towards the river banks and the Place Sathonay, Colonel Dietmann was not able to penetrate further to the south than the stone bridge, and his communication with the line of Bellecour by the quay of the Saône, remained doubtful throughout the night and a portion of the next day.

The contest was equally sharp at the Croix-Rousse. A barricade formed in front of the barrack of the Bernardins was taken in flank and carried by General Fleury, who killed a great number of the insurgents. From that moment offensive attacks ceased on that side; the Croix-Rousse remained silent, but still occupied by the enemy. General Fleury employed the rest of the day in cannonading the quarter of St. Paul with several pieces of artillery placed in the barrack of the Chartreux.

During this time, the tocsin continued to sound from the steeples. Republican proclamations were read and distributed in all the insurrectionary quarters. They contained in substance the forfeiture of Louis-Philippe, and the appointment of Lucien Bonaparte as first consul.

Everywhere the troops had exhibited a resolution truly admirable; everywhere they waited for the fire of the insurgents, and replied without a moment's hesitation. It was related of a soldier of the 6th light infantry, a regiment

partly composed of Lyonese, that on arriving at the square of the Prefecture, he called out to his mother, "Shut your window, we are going to fire;" and then fired with the rest.

In recapitulating the results of this first day, we shall find that the enemy, divided upon every point, and pressed closely within the quarters he still held, occupied St. George's, where the first attacks had driven him, the Exchange, the quay of Bondy, and that of Bourgneuf, on the right bank of the Saône. On the same bank the troops held their ground from St. John to the prison of Roanne.

Between the rivers the insurgents were cut up into four fragments; at Perrache, the width of the streets prevented them from establishing themselves in force; they occupied the neighbourhood of the hospital and of the Place des Cordeliers. The houses which line the quay St. Vincent, St. Polycarp, and the banks, were in their power. In conclusion, they were prisoners, but armed, in the Croix-Rousse.

The three lines of General Aymard maintained a perfectly free communication by the left bank of the Rhône, the bridge of La Guillotière and the bridge Morand.

These results were not gained without considerable loss. The soldiers, unaccustomed to this kind of warfare, fired without cover on men concealed in the houses; it became necessary to change tactics, and imitate them; to profit, moreover, by the advantage which artillery afforded of sparing blood, by forcing the houses that resisted most. This plan was adopted on the following days, and the casualties of the troops were sensibly reduced in consequence.

It was hoped that the calm interval of the night, and the success of the operations of the preceding day, would have recalled to their senses that part of the population which the factious had led astray. But on the 10th, at early daybreak, the tocsin sounded again in all quarters of the city, and it was evident that the battle was not yet finished.

This second day was entirely occupied in securing and

clearing the positions conquered on the eve. Partial successes re-established communications with the Hôtel de Ville on the side of the Saône. The great communication by the left bank of the Rhône, intercepted for the moment by the insurrection in La Guillotière, was equally restored. In the interior of the city, the different lines were employed in extinguishing the fires that annoyed them, and in establishing themselves more at ease in their quarters: care was taken in these various operations not to expose the soldiers as on the preceding day, and artillery was constantly brought into play. The sound of cannon reverberated without interruption, and the action, less sanguinary than before, seemed even more terrible to the inhabitants inclosed within their houses.

On their side, the insurgents completed their movement by raising up the quarters which, to that time, had remained passive. St. Just, La Guillotière, Vaise, the quarter of the Botanical Garden, and that of the great quay, bristled with barricades. The barrack of Bon Pasteur, situated above the Botanical Garden, and abandoned by the troops according to arrangement, was forthwith occupied by the assailants. Red or black flags, bearing on one side, "Liberty, public order," and on the other, "The Republic or death," were displayed on that day or the morrow on the church of St. Polycarp, upon Fourvières, on the Antiquaille, and on the steeples of St. Dizier, and St. Bonaventure.

Thus, both sides occupied themselves in resting, in securing and planning their positions.

From daybreak, General Aymard had ordered the bridges of Morand, of Concert, of La Guillotière to be supplied with cannon. These precautions had for their object the maintenance of the principal communication on the left bank of the Rhône, and to facilitate the arrival of a convoy of ammunition expected from Grenoble, and reinforcements looked for from the South.

The delay of these reinforcements, and the bad feeling which already manifested itself in La Guillotière, seemed to necessitate the evacuation of the quarter of St. John, the troops in which might be so advantageously employed elsewhere: but the fear of the moral effect which any retrograde movement would infallibly produce, prevented this idea from being entertained; it was therefore confined to issuing an order for the small garrison of Fort St. Irénée to fall back upon Bellecour. When night came, that post was abandoned in rear of the enemy, and where the possible success of a movement on St. Etienne might have compromised it; and after having spiked their guns, the garrison reached head-quarters by St. Foy and the bridge of La Mulatière.

Meanwhile the quarter of Perrache attempted also its insurrection: in the vicinity of the manufactory of snuff this movement assumed the most serious aspect. The dragoons repaired thither without delay, and order was promptly restored.

But the existence of the bridge of Chajourne, at the extremity of which the insurgents of St. George's kept up a continual interchange of musketry with the troops, menaced the quarter of Perrache: it was a troublesome diversion in the rear of head-quarters. During the evening, an enormous boat filled with hay was moored against the bridge, and then fired. After burning for an hour, three arches sank in the river.

From early morning, batteries placed on the bridges of the Rhône, and on the promenade of Bourbon, peppered with bullets the houses on the quays de Retz and of Bon-rencontre, from whence musket-shots were occasionally fired. A shell from a howitzer, launched against one of those houses at the corner of the street Gentil, caused a fire which nearly led to fatal consequences. For a moment it was feared that the flames would extend to the buildings of the library and the college. Anxiety and terror were at their height. For-

tunately the apprehensions were not realized, and the fire confined itself to the single roof.

During this time, an effort was made to destroy the pavilions of the bridge of Concert, which the soldiers had abandoned, and which might furnish an advanced post to the rebels. The solid construction of these pavilions rendered more tardy the progress of destruction, which occupied four pieces of artillery from eight in the morning until night-fall.

But the fears inspired by La Guillotière were realized. That town joined the insurrection. The houses at the head of the bridge opened fire on the soldiers. The grand communication was cut: it was necessary to re-establish it at any cost. While smart replies of musketry were kept up upon the insurgents in the nearest windows, cannon and howitzers placed along the promenade of Bourbon, launched numerous projectiles on the suburb. A house caught fire, and the flames, urged by the wind, spread amongst the neighbouring buildings with appalling rapidity. Then the fire of musketry slackened, and soon ceased altogether. The general, who had no troops to spare to occupy the suburb, was obliged to content himself with a promise from the inhabitants to prevent thenceforward any renewal of hostilities.

Towards evening, several discharges were heard from Fort Lamotte, which during this and the following days was occupied in clearing the great roads to Marseilles and Grenoble of Dauphinese plunderers, who had hastened to Lyons. Several rounds of cannon-shot were fired against the bell-tower of La Guillotière, from whence the tocsin was continually sounding.

At the Terreaux, the first operation was to occupy the belfry and the pavilions of the Hôtel de Ville and of the palace of St. Pierre; from thence the riflemen of the line silenced by their fire the shots fired from roofs at a certain distance. Several houses filled with insurgents were stormed by the soldiers. The next care was to dislodge the enemy from the

neighbourhood of the butcher-market of the Terreaux and the quay St. Vincent. By this movement, also, the interrupted communications with the military bake-house and the powder-magazine were re-established.

Soon after, an expedition, more important still, was directed towards the Place Sathnay, the approach to which was defended by a stout barricade; it was essential to retake that post and the Botanical Garden. A company of grenadiers of the 27th marched upon the place. Colonel Monnier of the 28th commanded them in person. Already twice wounded since the commencement of the insurrection, he fell pierced by a mortal stroke at the moment when the barricade was carried by his men.

This brave soldier had left Lyons on the 7th to visit his family at Grenoble; on Tuesday he heard that his regiment might be engaged on the following day. He retraced his steps on the instant, and found in the streets of Lyons the end of a glorious career, devoted to the last moment to combating the enemies of France.

At the Croix-Rousse, the barracks of the Bernardins had been newly attacked; the fire of artillery and musketry continually echoed from that quarter. During the night, messages were sent to the contractor at Serin. Convoys of provisions re-victualled the troops at the Bernardins, at the Terreaux, at Bellecour, and in the forts. It was necessary to fight to reach the magazines and return from them; officers and soldiers were wounded.

Throughout this day, so full of disorder, of movement and noise, public criers disseminated with much difficulty, in the quarters occupied by the troops, the following proclamation:

"Inhabitants of Lyons!

"Our efforts to avoid a collision have proved vain; the seat of justice has been attacked by the factious, and we have seen ourselves reduced to the necessity of making it respected by arms.

"In all quarters our troops have conducted themselves with admirable courage and loyalty; everywhere the insurgents have taken to flight, and have been unable to resist their charge, except by concealing themselves in houses, from whence they have been dislodged as often as it was judged desirable to drive them out.

"Confined within a narrow compass, the revolt cannot maintain itself; divided on all points of their communications, looking in vain for reinforcements from the neighbouring towns, whose tranquillity they have been unable to disturb, they will soon be compelled to submit.

"Have then confidence in your magistrates, whose solicitude is entirely centered in alleviating the misfortunes they have been unable to prevent; have confidence in the ability and zeal of the generals, and in the attitude and courage of our brave soldiers, and your city will soon be delivered from the passing troubles to which it has been exposed.

"GASPARIN,

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône.

"*Lyons, April* 10, 1834."

On the 11th of April, nothing important was undertaken by the troops; the general waited for reinforcements to extend his operations; besides it was necessary to make reconnoissances in the revolted quarters, and thus prepare for the decisive and general attack intended for the following day.

Meanwhile the cannonade never relaxed, and the houses on the quay de Retz continued to be battered by the artillery placed on the left bank. In the interior of the city, the soldiers silenced all neighbouring fire that annoyed them; petards continued to assist them in forcing the houses occupied by the enemy; they began also to understand this new species of warfare. After the example of their opponents,

they mounted on the roofs, concealed themselves behind the chimneys, took post in the highest points of the city, on the terraceof the archiepiscopal palace, on the dome of the Hôtel de Ville, on the tower of the Prefecture; and from these elevations theys wept the tops of the houses to a considerable distance. In the streets also, they learned to protect their advance by barricades; they were seen to place in requisition the carts and materials that fell in their way, and which they carried to the selected points, escorted by other soldiers with levelled muskets.

At two in the morning the first engagement took place. The insurgents of the quarter of St. Bonaventure attempted to force a passage upon different points; they were repulsed by a combined fire of cannon and small arms. This fusillade and the discharges of artillery, the horror of which was augmented by the silence of the night, recalled to the inhabitants of the quarters surrounding the Terreaux the fatal second of November, 1831, when the garrison effected its retreat.

A few hours later, the bridge of La Mulatière was attacked; and at the same moment the quarter Perrache continued to rise, and the isolated soldiers were disarmed by groups of rebels. Everything led to a belief that the insurgents of Lyons waited the arrival of those from St. Etienne, to attempt a more general effort; and, in fact, the news received from the last-named town was not encouraging. The escort of the baggage of the 6th light infantry had been disarmed on the road leading to that place.

I have said that the fort of St. Irénée had been evacuated on the night between Thursday and Friday; the revolters of St. Just had occupied it since; they succeeded in unspiking one of the abandoned guns; they placed it on the terrace of Fourvières, and from thence endeavoured to discharge bullets and stones against the head-quarters at Bellecour. But their projectiles generally fell short. They were answered by two

twenty-four pounders, which had been brought into the square, and overwhelmed with shot the terrace on which the inexperienced artillerists of the enemy had stationed themselves.

Meanwhile the impatience of the inhabitants reached its height. Shut up in their houses for three days, they became indignant at the apparent timidity of the general, whose true position they were unacquainted with; they wanted the troops to advance and bring the rebellion to a close. All previous riots and revolutions had lasted three days; they considered that the present revolt ought not to be allowed to exceed that term.

These outcries and complaints had no effect on the plans of the military authorities. But permission to go abroad was granted during two hours to women only: they besieged the bakers' and butchers' shops to recruit their exhausted provisions; supplies of the most urgent necessity were still abundant, but those of secondary want were exhausted.

Some loyal citizens had offered to take arms and second the troops: General Buchet, to whom their proposals were made known, hastened to accept them. He promised muskets and great coats. This civic guard might have been employed to preserve tranquillity in the quarters already occupied; it might have replaced the regulars in the least exposed posts, and have left them free to act in advance. Unfortunately, few persons took part in this voluntary enrolment; a result which must be attributed to the isolation of the inhabitants, without mutual understanding, as also without communication with the authorities.

Towards three o'clock the prefect published this proclamation:—

"Inhabitants of Lyons,

"The continuance of the painful state to which the city of Lyons is reduced arises from a small number of rebels, who force their way into the houses, and recommence firing in cer-

tain quarters. In this state of affairs, to allow complete circulation would be to give the enemy the facility of changing position, of communicating with each other, and of spreading confusion in all directions. But to diminish this restraint, which does not arise from the authorities, but from the disorders which the inhabitants have been unable to oppose with energy, permission, as far as possible, is granted for the free passage of women.

"The town of La Guillotière has well appreciated this state of affairs, and the inhabitants, who suffered so much yesterday from the military measures adopted to subdue the revolt, have compelled the rebels to cease firing, and have thus reconquered their tranquillity.

"Learn to imitate them; seek to communicate in every street and quarter with your neighbours, to prevent the violation of your houses, your being exposed to the risks of military operations, and the destruction they entail. All will then change in a moment, and you will be restored to your ordinary pursuits and habits.

"Listen to the voice of authority, which, after having so long hesitated to reply to provocations, points out to you the true methods of putting an end to disorder.

"GASPARIN,

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône.

"*Lyons, April* 11, 1834."

Although comparatively calm, Friday was throughout disturbed by the report of musketry and artillery: but people had begun to familiarize themselves with these continual discharges. Braving the prohibition and the danger, groups of curious idlers assembled on the quay of St. Clair, to watch the cannonade directed against the Place du Concert. At night the soldiers lit fires of charcoal, and bivouacked at the corners of the streets: some constructed huts of planks, others slept in the open air, maintaining admirable gaiety and patience,

despite the dangers and privations of all kinds by which they were assailed during those deplorable days and long nights, which cold and snow rendered still more unendurable.

The day of the 12th of April proved decisive for the triumph of order. The firing, which continued through the night at lengthened intervals, resumed, towards morning, fresh intensity. The troops on one side, and the insurgents on the other, held nearly the same positions as on the eve; only the number of the latter and the vivacity of their fire seemed to diminish.

But an unfortunate accident seemed to destroy the hopes entertained. While a first demi-battalion of reinforcements from Drôme arrived at Fort Lamotte, La Guillotière, which had always continued under suspicion, re-commenced firing. The great line of communication again became compromised. Added to which, we were not quite sure of Grenoble, and particularly of St. Etienne, where the success of the workmen might supply arms to all the disaffected who required them, and multiply tenfold the ranks of sedition.

In this state of things, a deplorable alternative presented itself to the military power. It appeared necessary either to evacuate the quarters of St. John, of Parrache and Bellecour to occupy the revolted suburb, or to destroy it completely. Hesitation could not be indulged; every movement in retreat, though only seeming such, was to be rejected under risk of infinitely augmenting the audacity and number of the rebels. These reasons were justly estimated by the general and the prefect, who issued the following summons:—

"*Lyons, April* 12, 1834; 6 *o'clock in the Morning.*

"To the Mayor, Substitutes, Municipal Counsellors, and principal Inhabitants of La Guillotière.

"Gentlemen,

"The prolonged continuance in your town of a knot of rebels, whom you suffer there from weakness, does not allow

the general to hesitate on the measures to be adopted for the prompt reduction of the suburb. He has therefore instructed me to announce to you, that if you do not, in four hours from this time—that is, at ten precisely—by the energy of your inhabitants, place the leaders of the rebels in his hands, the fire will immediately be renewed from Fort Colombier and from the city, and will not cease until his demands are complied with.

"I have thought it my duty to apprise you of the coming danger; the general waits only a single answer; the suspension of fire depends on compliance with his conditions. There can be no further negotiation, but prompt and vigorous action if you wish to avert the destruction of your town.

"GASPARIN,

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône."

To this summons, M. de Gasparin added a letter for the commissary of police of La Guillotière, calling upon him to use his utmost efforts to induce the inhabitants to adopt this wise resolution. But these despatches, which a devoted agent had the courage to bear to the insurgent suburb, could not be delivered. The mayoralty was occupied by the rebels, and the commissary of police was not found at home.

Nevertheless, there was a reluctance to adopt extreme measures until all others had been tried. Perhaps La Guillotière might be carried without the loss of many men. General Aymard determined to send into that suburb a strong reconnoitring party. Under his own eyes the first battalion of the 21st of the line threw themselves into the principal street with astonishing resolution and impetuosity. They met but a feeble resistance, rapidly reached the square of the church, and killed many rebels there. At the same time, the demi-battalion arrived from Drôme, entered La Guillotière, which it was instructed to occupy. This serious affair ended thus; and its success was more prompt, more complete, and, above all, less dearly bought than was at first expected.

Orders were then immediately given to General Buchet to carry the head-quarters of the enemy, at St. Nizier and St. Bonaventure. One must be acquainted with this quarter of Lyons to estimate the full difficulty of the attempt, and the skill with which the positions of the rebels had been chosen. Between St. Bonaventure and St. Nizier, there are only narrow, winding streets, where a few men might stop an army; while in advance, on the quay of the Rhône, is the Place du Concert, a sort of funnel, in which assailants will always hesitate to engage. But the attack had been long prepared, and the Place du Concert battered by artillery. General Buchet himself had drilled the soldiers to the war of attic windows and ambuscades in which they were about to engage. Present everywhere, he posted one, set an example to another, and encouraged all. Finally, a barricade had been established by the troops near the square of the cheese-factory, which on the preceding days had been the theatre of several combats.

The insurgents were placed in ambuscade in the church of St. Nizier, and intrenched in a house opposite to the street Sirène. Their retreat was open to the rear by the small alleys which abut on the quarter of the Cordeliers, —the very centre of the insurrection. They kept up a tolerably brisk fire on the entrance to the street Sirène, to prevent the troops from deploying. The soldiers took care not to waste their lives fruitlessly, by exposing themselves without cover to the shots of their enemies, always invisible. They glided from house to house, taking post on the roofs, sheltering themselves behind the casements, and from thence directed a sharp fire against the buildings occupied by the rebels. Thus, by degrees, they established themselves in the church of St. Nizier, tore down the black flag, and replaced it by the tricolor, which displayed itself on the nave. At this sight the soldiers rent the air with shouts of "Long live the King!" and struck up the "Parisienne," an air conse-

crated to the memories of civil war and the triumphs of legal order.

The attack on the Place des Cordeliers and the church of St. Bonaventure was crowned with similar success; they were reached at the same time from different sides, and the new cloister of St. Méry carried at a charging pace. No description can convey an idea of the strange and appalling aspect presented by the church when the gates were burst open. There was the bewildered crowd, which, seeking an outlet and finding none, reeled under the fire of the soldiers; the blood, the arms, the piles of ball and ammunition; the apparatus of war collected in the vaults of the church; and in the midst of all, the altar, arranged as usual, and respected by both parties! The spectacle was fearfully incongruous.

On his side, Colonel Dietmann pushed his advantages vigorously in the quarter he occupied. A barricade placed at the corner of the street of the great bank of the river, impeded the soldiers for a time, but they finally made themselves masters of it. They then moved in the direction of the butcher-market of the Terreaux, and dislodged the insurgents posted in the windows of the quay de Bondy, facing the church of St. Louis, who for two days had actively annoyed the post on the quay of La Feuillée. A company occupied the unfinished house in front of the foot-bridge of St. Vincent; another took post at the angle of the square of the butcher-market; the riflemen covered the fire of the two pieces of artillery. The guns on the terrace of the Carthusians were directed on the same point; a sustained discharge of two hours silenced that of the rebels; the Hôtel of the Red Hat, which served them for a redoubt, was riddled with bullets, and nearly destroyed.

While these different affairs were taking place in the heart of the city, the suburb of Vaise requested General Fleury to drive out the bands by which it was infested.

From the preceding evening, some of the insurgents had

commenced firing against the veterinary school, occupied by a detachment of infantry and a picket of dragoons; others, collected in the nearest houses of the suburb, endeavoured by an unremitting fire to intercept the communications with the baking establishment and the powder magazine. In this quarter were the greater number of the ill-conducted men from Algiers, drafted into battalions of discipline, who, having disarmed their escort, had joined the rebels and directed their movements.

General Fleury determined to carry the suburb by open force; with this object a leading column, commanded by Captain Vien, and composed of two companies of the 15th light infantry, and a company of sappers of the engineers, formed in front of the bake-house, crossed the bridge of Serin and marched by Pierre-Seize, to occupy the heights which command the veterinary school. They dispersed a band bearing away one of the guns from Fort St. Irénée, and retook it from them. Having reached the most elevated ground, the head of the column made a signal previously arranged, and in a few minutes afterwards, the second column, consisting of two companies of the 15th light infantry, four of the 28th of the line, and a detachment of sappers, issued from the same point, entered Vaise, and carried the five barricades erected in the main street. During this time, two six-pounders placed on the ruins of Fort St. John opened upon the houses of the suburb, from whence musket-shots were seen to issue. Speedily the insurgents, who retired before the soldiers, while firing from the houses and corners of the streets, were met by the first column, which inflicted on them some additional loss. Twenty minutes after the signal, the two columns united in the square of the Pyramid. This operation, conducted with extraordinary vigour and precision, cost the lives of a certain number of soldiers and officers. Nearly all the Algerine drafts perished; the entire loss of the insurgents was very considerable.

The results of the fourth day were immense. By liberating

Vaise and La Guillotière, the generals had re-opened to the mails the high roads to Paris and the South; all the anxious communities who waited with eagerness the post from Lyons, as the most certain indication of the triumph of the laws, were at last relieved. Nothing offered further opposition to the arrival of reinforcements. The rebellion, it might be said, was crushed. While the most favourable intelligence arrived from Grenoble and St. Etienne, the insurrection was driven from its strongholds. It only retained in the suburbs, the Croix-Rousse, and in Lyons the right of the Saône, and a portion of the quarters of the river banks between the Terreaux and the Croix-Rousse.

On the 13th, free egress was allowed to all the inhabitants in the quarters occupied by the troops. This was announced by the prefect in the following proclamation:—

"Inhabitants of Lyons,

"The sacred cause of law, of order, and true liberty has triumphed within the walls of Lyons. Some embers of the rebellion still exist in certain quarters, but they will be extinguished to-day. This happy result has been bought with precious blood; you have experienced suffering, and privations, but which of you remembers either, in presence of the great result obtained by the valour, constancy, and dicipline of the troops?

"To terminate as soon as possible the restraint which military operations necessitated, it is decreed to-day that the free circulation of pedestrians shall be established in the city, but no stoppage can be allowed in the thoroughfares, and no assemblage of more than five persons together. But the passage of the bridges is still forbidden. These restrictions will be removed as soon as it becomes possible without compromising the operations of the garrison.

"GASPARIN,

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône.

"*Lyons, April* 13, 1834."

Scarcely was this edict promulgated when an immense crowd inundated the streets; it was found that it might be dangerous to allow the soldiers to be thus surrounded; the menacing aspect of the popular leaders might excite a conflict. Moreover, hostilities were not terminated; the insurrection, although vanquished beyond hope, still held its positions; it was important to break them up.

The first operation of the day was to retake St. Just. A demi-battalion, a detachment of sappers, and fifty dragoons, were intrusted to the lieutenant-colonel of engineers, Million, who, by a bold and rapid march, moved on Fourvières by La Mulatière and St. Foy. The insurgents were driven out after a feeble resistance. Fourvières was retaken, and the red flag replaced on the tower by the national colours. At this signal, the colonel of the 7th light infantry, who commanded in the square of St John, sent forward by the new road two companies who carried a barricade, and then joined the detachment which since the 9th had occupied the Minims.

On his side, General Fleury occupied himself with clearing the quarter of the banks and the environs of St. Polycarp. By means of sap, and by penetrating several houses, he arrived without notice in the centre of the enemy: when the soldiers reached this point, a dozen drums began to beat the charge, and the insurgents, surprised, terrified, and not knowing how to account for this unexpected attack, fled in all directions. Still it was necessary to engage in several sharp combats, to complete the occupation of the space comprised between the Criox-Rousse and the town-house.

From that moment, the three lines of operation, the relative position of which at the commencement of the struggle I have previously explained, had carried out their junction on all points. That of Bellecour had joined that of the Terreaux, after the taking of St. Nizier and St. Bonaventure; the last connected itself with the division at Croix-Rousse after the liberation of St. Polycarp; there only remained exceptional

opposition at the Croix-Rousse, and in the quarters of St. George and St. Paul, to the north and east of all the different corps.

St. George's was strongly barricaded: in the night of the 13th and 14th, a column marched against that quarter by the Mulatière and the lanes; another by the ascent of the Gourguillon. All the heights were crowned. General Buchet directed these attacks.

On the 14th, at daybreak, the insurgents dispersed; they left a portion of their arms in the streets, into which the troops entered with drums beating. They destroyed a barricade and penetrated into the quarter of St. Paul. On no point did they encounter obstinate resistance. The Croix-Rousse alone still held out.

Reinforcements of infantry, artillery, and cavalry were sent to General Fleury, who surrounded the rebellious suburb, and proposed to starve it out, to avoid the effusion of blood. General Aymard, however, repaired to the spot, and judging that it was necessary to finish, ordered an animated attack. A warm affair followed, near the enclosure of Dumon, of which the troops gained possession; but it was then late, and the complete occupation of the Croix-Rousse was deferred until the next day.

During the night, M. Puyroche the mayor, in conjunction with Messrs. Laurent, Dugas, and Sandier, ex-mayors, knowing that the greatest efforts would be made the next day to carry the entire city, endeavoured to persuade the leaders of the insurgents to renounce hopeless resistance. After a long conferrence and many efforts, after several attempts to obtain a capitulation, which General Fleury neither would nor could consent to, the insurgents finally dispersed in all directions. The inhabitants themselves destroyed the barricades, and the troops on the day following were able to traverse the city without striking a blow.

Thus, the 14th of April was the last day of the republican

insurrection of Lyons. An almanack printed at St. Etienne, at the commencement of the year, has, after this very date of the 14th of April, the following letters; *V. la Rep.* A whimsical coincidence, which I give for what it is worth.

The question has often been asked, what was the number of the insurgents? and some journals, with an object easily understood, have asserted that five or six hundred men held an army in check throughout this long week. I have already stated the amount of the *army*, so noisily overstated: at no time, including the reinforcements that joined them during the last days, had the generals at disposal eight thousand men. As to the rebels, their number constantly diminished from the commencement of the affair; but it is certain that they never amounted to less than about three thousand combatants armed with muskets.

On the day that the Croix-Rousse submitted, trustworthy returns attested that the rebels there amounted to twelve hundred; of which seven hundred only had muskets in serviceable order. With such forces, and in a city like Lyons, they might have held out longer than they did.

It was calculated that the insurgents lost about 500 men in killed and wounded; very few of the latter were taken to the hospitals; the motive of which may be readily conceived. The Hôtel Dieu received less than 150.

The losses of the troops were thus calculated:—

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Officers . . .	5	19	24
Soldiers . . .	49	249	298

Here is undoubtedly a considerable effusion of blood; but there is reason to fear that the amount was much more considerable, for the soldiers fired 269,000 musket shots, and 1,729 rounds of artillery.

Some of these shots, I know, struck persons who were only guilty of imprudence, and others who had nothing whatever

to blame themselves for; but these casualties were very rare. They were the inevitable consequence of a state of war, and can only be laid to the charge of those who brought this scourge upon our country. It must be permitted to the men who have unnecessarily calumniated every community, every class by whom they have seen themselves abandoned, to attack also the army that fought them. In their eyes the government is treacherous, the Chambers are sold, the electoral body stupid, the magistrature servile, the National Guard ridiculous; all France falls under their contempt. How then could the army escape? A few months ago it was cajoled; at present, it is written that the soldiers of Lyons fought like tigers; scenes are described of pillage, massacre, violation, and I know not what besides.

Let the accusations be produced; let the facts be stated; let the plundered shops be pointed out; let the persons murdered in cold blood be named; and let courts-martial do justice on the criminals. But the accusers intrench themselves behind general charges; they have not forgotten Basil: *Calumniate, calumniate; something will always stick.*

No; the glory of our defenders is pure; no excess sullied it; their patience was as remarkable as their courage. We have heard of the dragoons, who having accidentally wounded a young man at Perrache, subscribed each a day's pay to repair, as much as they could, the involuntary mischief they had inflicted. A thousand similar traits might be quoted; and most assuredly, if there is any species of contest more calculated than another to exasperate the soldiers, it is a war of ambuscades in which the enemy is invisible.

It is also impossible not to render brilliant testimony to the conduct of the generals. The plan of operations was excellent, and was executed with admirable discernment, wisdom, and constancy. General Aymard, and the leaders who commanded under his orders, displayed at the same time the military and

moral courage which knows how to assume the responsibility of events, and the patience which in this case could alone assure success.

After passing sentence on the troops, the same organs set forth the apology of the insurgents. This is quite natural. It has been asked if any one has accused them of the slightest theft, the least disorder. I shall answer at once, that they have been formally charged with both. It has been stated that the poor-boxes of the church of St. Bonaventure were broken open and plundered, that several shops were laid under contribution to recruit their wardrobes; that a clothier's establishment in the square of the cheesemongers had sustained by their visits a serious loss; that one of the artillerymen of Fourvières had despoiled the statue of the Virgin of three necklaces of precious stones, and taken from the vestry a sum of 3,600 francs. Are all these statements true? I cannot say. I only undertake to prove that the probity and disinterestedness of the insurgents of April were questioned by many persons.

For the rest, I am the first to acknowledge that in general they abstained from pillage. And even more;—peaceable citizens, whose opinions were well known to them, remained in the revolted quarters without sustaining the least injury, either to their persons or property. The mayor of Croix-Rousse, was permitted to descend into the street, to harangue his town's-people in arms, and inspire them with salutary resolution. Why was this? Because the insurrection never felt itself sufficiently powerful to indulge in extreme caprices. It occupied certain quarters without commanding them; tolerated rather than obeyed, it felt that excesses might turn against itself; that they might restore energy to those who had remained passive from timidity. It felt the necessity of not earning too evil a reputation. Thus, its leaders took care to maintain throughout a tolerably severe discipline.

I have said its leaders, yet nevertheless, according to custom, the true leaders have never appeared. The action was entirely directed by men of subordinate station. Amongst those who fled or were arrested there is not one of any political importance.

I have already given an idea of the kind of warfare adopted by the insurgents. It seems that they held their positions by day and night; the combatants were supplied with food by placing the neighbourhood in requisition. Money was thrown to them from the windows, and several proprietors, by paying a certain sum, protected their houses from being entered to fire from. The supplies given were very unequally distributed. At a particular barricade it was complained that thirty-two francs alone were obtained for eighteen men, while at another, prisoners were taken whose pockets were filled with money. These barricades were much admired, and General Buchet himself went to visit one with several officers, whom he recommended to take it for a model. The fact is, that those in the quarters long occupied by the enemy, those which he was able to construct and complete at leisure, were real masterpieces; nothing was wanting, not even ditches. What do I say? At the Croix-Rousse, they had the patience to collect all the snow that fell, and thus were enabled to fill ditches with water on an arid eminence. This was, indeed, the luxury of insurrection.

On this point, I shall quote the Bulletin of a barricade, as published by the "Precursor;" we thus find that the revolt also had its official reports. Whatever may be the distrust attached to such a document, it seems to me suitable to complete the picture of the Lyonese insurrection.

"Wednesday, April 9.—I was compelled by circumstances to retire to the hill of the Carmelites. Consternation was on every face; nevertheless the workmen laboured with activity in the construction of barricades; a few armed men protected their operations. At three in the afternoon, the great

hill, the hill of the Carmelites, the bottom of the street of Flessolles, and the street of Vielle Monnaie, were in a state of defence.

"The barrack of the Bon Pasteur was taken; Meunier, assistant-surgeon of the 27th, was made prisoner by a sentry while repairing to his duties. He was taken to his residence, on parole, and summoned to dress the wounded. The workmen have reason to be satisfied with the conduct of this officer. Mattresses and palliasses from the barrack were carried to the barricades.

"On Thursday the 10th, at 9 in the morning, the street of the Petits Pères was fortified with a strong barricade; towards noon, the troops showed a disposition to dislodge us, but we moved forward and took possession of the place Sathonay. The men without arms entered different houses and speedily supplied themselves. Soon after, a rolling fire issued from the windows; we had only two wounded. It was then that our comrades mounted the barricades, and maintained themselves there in military style. The barrack was instantly crenated, which preserved the Botanical Garden from attack. From that time, the cooking was established at the posts; during the afternoon the courier of the mail was arrested and taken to head-quarters; four other persons were also taken. Every attention was paid to them, of which they can bear witness.

"All went on thus until Sunday the 12th, in skirmishes of musketry: at that time the following demand was addressed to the inhabitants of the quarter:—

"'Citizens,

"'You are invited by the friends of order and liberty to co-operate in the subsistence of your fellow-citizens who are in arms for the public cause. Several individuals of no estimation have collected donations for their own profit, and we wish to prevent such infamous conduct. The chiefs

of posts are specially instructed to receive and distribute all contributions amongst the posts of the division.'

"On Monday the 13th, after five days of resistance, without communications and almost without arms, a council was assembled, consisting of twenty-seven citizens, to deliberate on the means of retreat. The state of arms and men was submitted. Here follows the result:—

"Seventy bad muskets for two hundred men; such were the means of defence. He who presided at the council made the following address:—

"'Citizens,

"'In the position in which we find ourselves in face of an army, resistance is useless; your courage instead of giving way appears to increase; you have no wish to cause the destruction of the families that surround you; this would only be so much more French blood fruitlessly shed. Humanity commands us to seek the means of an honourable retreat. We may retire without being vanquished; we may still be useful to our country; our efforts, I am convinced, will open the eyes of those who have not followed our example; but we must expect all from time. Nevertheless, if you wish still to resist, I should be the first to set you the example, and if my life could attain our object, I am ready to sacrifice it at the mouth of the cannon.'

"It was then decided that the retreat should be made during the night between the 13th and 14th. It was also settled to release the prisoners, so that each might return to his own home. After the council, the work continued at the barricades as if nothing was thought of but defence. We took leave of each other with embraces; tears fell to the memory of our brethren who had fallen for liberty, thus furnishing another lesson for the history of nations.

"P.S. In five days we have had one man killed in his own house and five wounded."

Such is the narrative of a barricade, related by one who has undoubtedly spared nothing to render it interesting and pathetic. Unfortunately I shall have no trouble in opposing to him others abounding even more in these features. It is in the establishments dedicated to the instruction of youth that my examples must be sought, for it appears to me that in those asylums of study and peace the apparition of civil war is more revolting and terrible than anywhere else.

On Thursday the 10th of April, the fire became brisk round the veterinary school. From the heights which command it, and extend to the west of Vaise, they opened on the soldiers in the barrack of Serin, on the left bank of the Saône, and on those who, on the right bank, were posted at the head of the bridge, close to the school. The insurgent skirmishers occupied the enclosures of Tessot and Bourget; musket-shots soon issued from the woods which crown the garden; of this there could be no doubt; the rebels had penetrated into the park.

The director, M. Bredin, had informed the commandant of the neighbouring post that his wounded men would be attended to at the school. These wounded, while being carried to the opposite bank, were fired on, on the bridge of Serin.

Soon after, the insurgent skirmishers descended into the wood of the school: two of them, armed with carbines, crept into the dormitories of the pupils. At that moment, the school appeared to be in great danger. M. Bredin ran to the window by which they had entered, and found the rebels alone (two young men of good bearing); but the pupils ran forward, and in their presence, the insurgents, after some resistance and threats, determined to rejoin their comrades, giving notice that fifty of them who had reached the park were about to break open the gates. Not a word was uttered by any of the scholars. A quarter of an hour afterwards, several of these skirmishers presented themselves, raggedly clothed, with

haggard eyes, and features distorted by drunkenness. One of them said roughly to the director, "Order that gate to be opened." A decisive *No* was the only answer. "Well then we shall break it open," replied he, and without hesitation disappeared in the passage. One of his companions, before entering, cried out, "Do not force us to attempt your life and that of your pupils." The gate offering resistance, the rebels broke away the lock by a shot from the muzzle of a musket. They were then in the court, from whence they fired on the soldiers.

The troops, who had hitherto respected an inoffensive establishment, were now led to believe that the school had joined in the revolt, and directed against it cannon shot, howitzer shells, and musketry: a single pupil was slightly wounded on the staircase.

The rebels remained only an hour in the court; at the end of that time, they abandoned it, and resumed their first post in the wood, from whence they continued to fire irregularly until evening. M. Bredin then wrote to General Aymard, asking him to place some soldiers in the school.

On the 11th, at day-break, a captain of the 28th of the line, M. Latour, arrived at the head of thirty grenadiers. Scarcely were the soldiers stationed at the windows behind mattresses supplied to them, when the pupils exhibited great uneasiness, and renewed much more urgently than on the previous day, a request to leave the school. Captain Latour, who observed with coolness and resolution the state of these youths, considered his soldiers unsafe while scattered in the midst of 140 young southern heads. At his request the director addressed the following letter to General Aymard:—

"General,

"I entreat you to give orders, either that the detachment of thirty men placed in the school this morning should be more advantageously posted, or trebled in number, for our house is

commanded by the wood occupied by the workmen, and from whence it would be easy to dislodge them by Pierre-Seize. The captain sees, with me, the extreme uneasiness of our 140 pupils, who yesterday restrained the rebels from entering their rooms by promising that the soldiers should not come there. I pray you also to send us ration bread, which the school will pay for."

The firing continued all day, and two rebels were killed in the park.

In the afternoon, a great tumult arose suddenly throughout the house; piercing cries of rage and indignation issued simultaneously from all points. M. Bredin ran to the hall where he had established the grenadiers and dragoons; the pupils in a body were endeavouring to enter. Captain Latour at the head of a dozen soldiers under arms, peremptorily forbade them. "Mr. Director," said he, "if you do not instantly order your scholars to retire, I shall fire upon them. Two of their comrades have been seized in the act of firing on us, and the youths fraternize with them, taking them by the hand, and endeavouring to tear them from my soldiers." The director ordered the scholars to retire, and demanded of them an explanation of this tumult; on both sides there were mistakes: the prisoners were not pupils of the school. There was no intention of shooting them, as the pupils had at first imagined.

During the afternoon, the insurgents of Vaise flung from the top of an old bastion of the Maison Tessot, two casks filled with lighted combustibles, which set fire to some brambles in M. Bourget's field, from which they expected, as we afterwards learned, that the north wind would spread the conflagration to the school. The fire speedily went out, for want of nourishment.

The chief commissary served out ration bread; a cow also was killed: a repast was provided for the soldiers; wine

was furnished to them, and they supped in the hall of the pupils.

Finally, on Saturday the 12th, the insurgents who occupied the table-land of the park were dislodged by the dragoons, who ascended by the paths through the wood, and by other soldiers from the side of Pièrre-Seize. In their hasty retreat they abondoned a piece of artillery they had not used.

The history of the royal college, even more dramatic than that of the veterinary school, deserves to be related with some details.

On the 10th of April, the fire recommenced, and various reports were in circulation: they disturbed without creating despondence, and were little credited. The insurgents occupied the square of the college and the abutting streets as far as their head quarters in the Place des Cordeliers, close to the royal seminary.

The college was in the line, and seemed to be one of the objects of the fire of the troops encamped on the left bank of the Rhône, who were harassed by that of the insurgents, who occupied that quarter of the city. Cannon and grape-shot had fallen within the dormitories, the other rooms, the courts of the scholars, and also in the apartments of the functionaries of the college and academy.

Arrangements were made to shelter the scholars from danger. Letters were written to the general and the mayor, entreating them to spare that establishment. One of the masters, braving all peril, took charge of these despatches.

The houses near the college in the Rue Gentil took fire: the conflagration threatened to spread, and reached the college itself; communication could only be carried on through the shower of bullets which whistled in all directions; but through the exertions of two professors, an engine was obtained; the city sent the only one remaining, and which the mayor's secretary brought himself, not with-

out danger, and accompanied by three or four firemen. The pupils, great and small, worked it with astonishing zeal, and ardour difficult to restrain. The roofs were covered with firemen and scholars; the servants joined in the labour, but the fire became menacing. The entire building, and the public library appeared to be devoted to the flames. And to increase the calamity, cannon-shot, grape, and musketry, poured upon all who presented themselves on the roof to arrest the fire. The artillery, incessantly disturbed by the fire of the skirmishers in those quarters, as also by that from the burning houses, occupied, it was said, in the other stories, by active insurgents, seemed determined to beat down all before it; it beheld enemies even in those employed to extinguish the flames. Fresh letters were forwarded to the authorities, imploring them to stop the effects of this mistake, and to cease the cannonade and discharge of musketry, which, however, in no way checked the efforts of the functionaries and the scholars.

The fire of the troops seemed to diminish for a certain time. The conflagration still raged; a chain of 300 pupils continued their efforts; the engine was still worked by them; each emulated the other in zeal and courage. The fire approached the quarters of the professors, and the pupils, moved by a feeling of honourable attachment, hastened, not without danger, to dismantle the apartments. All was done rapidly, but without confusion. The fire began to diminish; it was subdued by the ardour and intrepidity of the scholars, the functionaries and their assistants, to whom, in all probability, we owe the preservation of the college and the public library. The cannonade was resumed, and projectiles continued to fall; night came, when the fire slackened on all sides. The scholars, after a laborious but honourable day, returned to their rooms, contented with a light supper; they bivouacked in their halls of study, the dormitories not being habitable. Cannon and grape-shot had repeatedly

penetrated them. They slept in the happy consciousness of having accomplished a noble task.

In the course of the day, the rebels endeavoured to burst open the gates of the college; they demanded the arms formerly used by the scholars in their military exercises. To prevent an attack which fruitless resistance might render terrible, the functionaries presented themselves to them; their presence and words awed the rebels, who retired without seizing any arms, or doing any mischief.

On the 11th, the night was calm; the next day promised to be active; there was no walking in the streets; the troops held their posts, and the workmen endeavoured to advance on certain points.

The square of the college seemed to have been made their place of retreat; barricades were raised there; the fire in the houses was extinguished, but the artillery continued to threaten the college; the two pavilions were pierced with cannon-shot and bullets; some also fell in the dormitories, on the staircase, and in the dining-hall. None of the pupils, and no one belonging to the establishment was wounded.

The insurgents once more presented themselves at the gates; they were disposed to assail them: the authorities caused them to be opened and appeared as before. This time the rebels came not to demand arms or shelter; they asked for the eldest amongst the scholars to be enrolled in their ranks. The unanimous reply of the functionaries was, that those youths neither could nor would leave the building; they were a deposit confided to their care, and before surrendering them, they would sacrifice their own lives. Convinced by their energetic words, or controlled by their demeanour, the rebels again retired without striking a blow.

On the 12th, the same anxious night in this quarter. Meanwhile, the barricades were almost entirely abandoned; ten or twelve insurgents, sometimes only two or three, harassed from behind these ramparts the more distant posts.

This plan of tactics, it was said, was adopted at nearly all points. Judging by that, we may feel assured that the commercial class, the people in easy circumstances, neither seconded nor took any part in the insurrection; they groaned under it and allowed it to take its course, for no civil opposition had been organized.

Nothing was known as to what passed without; but reports excited an apprehension that the college might become an object of reprisal, because, as it was said, shots were fired on the troops from that establishment, by which an artilleryman had been killed; and that some of the scholars had seconded the revolt.

The Rector and the Provost wrote to the general to protest against these injurious rumours, which might have originated in the step taken by the insurgents who came to demand arms, and pupils to reinforce their ranks.

The authorities were also urgently entreated a second time to give orders that the youths might not be exposed, and that if circumstances became more serious they might be permitted to remove them, and conduct them to the country house. This application also gave rise to sinister reports, to the effect that the college was surrounded by a great number of shops and stores with an entre-sol above the ground-floor, inhabited by manufacturing and labouring people; and that if the fact of hostility was true, although not known to be so, it must have proceeded from those localities which were never under the control of the college.

Round and grape-shot, provoked by the fire of the insurgents, fell almost in every direction. The masters became anxious for the safety of the pupils. They were removed alternately from the residences to the courts, and from the courts to the residences.

A ball fell in the staircase on the highest story; the dust it occasioned resembled smoke, and raised an alarm of fire; all hands ran to extinguish it. A second ball followed, then

a third, and a fourth. Fortunately no one was hit; but some fragments of the wall struck a scholar and a servant on the back; these contusions had no ill consequences. The pupils abandoned the residences, and could only find shelter in the class-rooms, where they remained several hours. It seemed that those bullets were directed against the church of the Franciscans, where the insurgents were intrenched; but had it been otherwise, it could only have arisen from the reports circulated, and because the rebels having also endeavoured to enter the college, it might have been thought they were established there. The difficulty of communication prevented the true state of things from being known.

Towards four o'clock in the afternoon, the fire slackened; the barricades were abandoned; a flag of truce from the work-people came to the town-house; submission was spoken of; the fire then ceased, and the square was evacuated. The close of the drama was announced which threatened France with the greatest calamities. Calm ensued without, and security within the college.

Such is the summary of the events that occurred during the four days, which the vicinity of the head-quarters of the insurgents, and the responsibility of the masters to the families of the scholars, rendered the more terrible.

The scholars deserve praise for their good spirit, their generous and loyal conduct. The Rector, M. Soulacroix, the officers of the college, and their subordinates, exhibited all the prudence, courage, and discernment which a profound sentiment of duty could inspire, under such unusual circumstances.

I have selected two scenes from a thousand that I might have cited. Everywhere there was the same suffering, agitation, and terror. The citizens, surprised far from their dwellings by the prohibition to circulate, remained prisoners in the nearest houses; hospitality was claimed and given as

a right; but what anguish arose from these unexpected separations, so cruelly prolonged! At the asylum of St. Paul, with which the charitable cares of some ladies had endowed one of the quarters of Lyons, expedients were of necessity resorted to, to feed during five days a dozen small infants whom their mothers had been unable to visit. We shudder while thinking of the anxious alarms of those families, and of the public and private calamities which weighed upon the population of the city during the conflict of April.

In the midst of the turmoil of arms, the civil government continued to show the greatest activity. M. Vachon-Imbert never quitted the town-house; M. Victor Arnaud, one of the administrators of the Hôtel Dieu, devoted himself entirely to the painful and often perilous task of directing and protecting that establishment. But in no locality was the movement more animated and incessant than at the Prefecture. There were assembled, pell-mell, the military, judicial, and administrative powers. The bar of M. Chégaray, always encumbered with prisoners, the staff of General Buchet, the cabinet of M. de Gasparin, all united under the same roof. The courts and gardens were crowded with soldiers, whilst others occupied the house. The cellars and coach-houses were filled with captives; and aides-de-camp carrying orders crossed each other in the corridors, with couriers coming from Paris, or commissaries of police repairing to their duties, which they continued to fulfil with the utmost zeal. There was real order in all that apparent confusion.

As to the inhabitants, I have already described their position: shut up in their houses, they were reduced to a purely passive part; and they have been too sharply reproached with apathy, the principal cause of which arose from the orders of the authorities. I know that all might have displayed against the rebels in arms the firmness exhibited by a few, and which was invariably crowned with success. Let us, however, confess that it was not easy to prevent access to the

Lyonese houses, with their passages always open and without porters, and with their six stories principally occupied by labouring people strongly inclined to aid their brethren. What was even less easy was, to forget the past, and to have full confidence in the future.

But the towns-people of Lyons have sufficiently proved their sympathies with the efforts of the army. They have evinced ample gratitude to their defenders: abundant subscriptions in favour of the wounded soldiers, applauses in the theatre, municipal proclamations, public thanks, nothing was wanting to manifest their sentiments. I am now going to transcribe the official documents, wherein are reflected the true feelings of a city to which a totally different language has been attempted to be ascribed.

The following are the proclamations that were issued :—

"My dear Fellow-citizens,

"After the deplorable events of which we have so recently been the witnesses and victims, your first magistrate feels it his duty to call on you to participate with him in the sentiments of gratitude by which he is animated towards our brave garrison, whose heroism has saved your city from ruin, and preserved France from extreme anarchy.

"You have seen, my dear fellow-citizens, that the men who for a long time have meditated the subversion of the government of July, have not recoiled before the consequences of their chimerical projects. While organizing civil war they applied themselves to mislead by false theories a population until then peaceable and industrious; and preluded this civil war by a compulsory suspension of labour, by menaces, and by violating the sanctity of justice. Why is it that until this day our efforts have been unable to conjure down the storm? Because the voice of authority, usually so well understood by the Lyonese, has been stifled by political passions.

"Vanquished in the bosom of the capital by the events of June, the factious spirits of all the provinces have selected Lyons for their rallying point. Here, as in Paris, their criminal attempts have failed. The triumph of the friends of law and order has never been for a moment doubtful; and the struggle would have been short if the duty of husbanding the blood of our defenders had not necessitated the employment of artillery.

"For the second time our unfortunate city has become the theatre of sanguinary encounters; and the sad experience we have lately endured will teach a great future lesson to us and to all France.

"Let the population resume confidence! Let all renew the course of their ordinary avocations. We rely on the good feeling of our fellow-citizens to hasten the return of peace and order.

"Given at the Hôtel de Ville, Lyons, April the 15th, 1834.

"The Mayor of the City of Lyons,

"VACHON-IMBERT, *Substitute.*"

"My dear Fellow-citizens,

"Profoundly afflicted by the calamities that have fallen on our city, it becomes an additional duty for me to announce to you the words of peace. I trust that my voice will be heard by the whole population.

"Cannot the unfortunates who have been so cruelly misled by perfidious counsels, open their eyes this day to the truth? Will they not see by what path the abettors of anarchy have here sought to bring us back to those calamitous times, which for forty years have weighed so heavily on our beautiful country? But we are bound to say, in justification of the city of Lyons, and in due homage to truth, the mass of the working population have remained strangers to the criminal efforts which have been made to subvert the constitutional monarchy, and to substitute for the system of

law, the empire of blind and brutal force. For such a guilty enterprise, the men, who for a long time meditated your ruin, and who for the most part are strangers to the city of Lyons, and even to the soil of France, have been unable, in spite of their hypocritical grievances, to find sympathy in the midst of a population which lives by labour, and which knows that labour is inseparable from order. Those are grievously culpable who have not feared to draw upon us civil war with its accompanying disasters! Let us leave them to their remorse and to the wisdom of the laws.

Lyonese! our misfortunes have been great, but let peace and unity return amongst us, and time will soon repair them. We have received a terrible lesson, never to be forgotten. The foremen, and work-people of every calling, will henceforth repulse with horror all those anti-social-political ideas, which bring in their train misery and despair, overthrow all modes of existence, and tend to the utter ruin of the most industrious city of France.

"Lyons has suffered for the cause of civilization; the entire fabric of social order has, in us, been attacked. Anarchy has been subdued, and a just and redressing government cannot fail to acknowledge that France is responsible for the injuries sustained by the Lyonese in the interest of all.

"Let confidence revive; let the inhabitants feel re-assured, let every citizen resume his habitual labour. The merchants, we feel confident, will redouble their zeal and care, under these calamitous circumstances, to give fresh activity to their commercial operations, and thus to procure employment for those who require it. We hope, in conclusion, that all our fellow-citizens will unite their efforts to ours to alleviate, as much as may be in their power, the evils we have been unable to anticipate.

"The Mayor of the City of Lyons,

"VACHON-IMBERT, *Substitute.*"

While the mayor placarded these proclamations, the municipal council voted swords of honour to Generals Aymard, Buchet, and Fleury, and to Colonel Dietmann. It also voted an address to the troops, which the general made public, in an order of the day, thus couched:—

"*Head-Quarters, Lyons, April* 16, 1834.

"Order of the day of the 7th Military Division. The Lieutenant-General commanding the 7th Military Division, hastens to convey to the knowledge of the troops under his orders, the following address voted unanimously to the garrison, by the Municipal Council of the City of Lyons:—

"Soldiers,

"The City of Lyons, France, and civilization, have incurred an immense danger which your valour has repulsed. After a prolonged contest, after such persevering efforts of courage of which all our members have been witnesses, the municipal council of this great and suffering city has felt the necessity of paying you the just tribute of their admiration and gratitude.

"You have conquered anarchy. You have driven far from the soil of France the anti-social principles which have already invaded it, but which never could be able to take deep root. Liberty, resting on the constitutional monarchy it has itself founded, could never perish in France but by its own excesses. It is against these excesses that you have declared war; it is over them that you have won the most glorious victory, and have thus deserved well of French freedom, and of the City of Lyons in particular.

"By the Mayor of the City of Lyons,

Signed, VACHON-IMBERT."

"Accept this testimonial of gratitude from a great city; you deserve it! Your intrepidity and perseverance have prevented a fearful disaster, and have saved France from anarchy, of all scourges the most terrible.

"Armed for the maintenance of the laws and the protection of the citizens, you have worthily fulfilled your trust. At the report of your victory, the factions so lately menacing, but now convinced of their impotence against your valour, have in all directions sought their safety in flight.

"France revives again to repose and hope. Soldiers! you have deserved well of your King and country.

"*Signed*, BARON AYMARD."

On the same day, the following letter was addressed to M. de Gasparin.

"*Lyons, April* 16, 1834.

"Mr. Prefect,

"I fulfil with eagerness the mission confided to me by the municipal council.

"It has just met, and its first sentiment is that of gratitude towards those who have preserved our unhappy city from the horrors of anarchy.

"You, Mr. Prefect, are amongst those who have inspired this feeling most profoundly, and I am instructed to express to you the admiration my fellow-citizens entertain of your courage and devotion.

"You will, henceforward, be reckoned by the Lyonese amongst their benefactors, since to you they owe the confirmation of their social existence, and you have so powerfully contributed to deliver them from the incalculable evils with which they were threatened.

"Deign to accept, &c.

"THE MAYOR OF LYONS."

The Prefect replied as follows:—

"*Lyons, April* 16, 1834.

"Mr. Mayor,

"After having sought for more than two years the means of re-establishing peace and concord in Lyons, I have seen

with grief, the hope I had conceived become more and more remote. The progress of the spirit of disorder, fanned by that of political societies and industrial coalitions, has been so rapid during the last year, that it was easy to foresee the lamentable issue to which these plots were tending. I have never deceived myself as to its imminence, and I have constantly thought with solicitude over the means of issuing victorious from the struggle, should we be reduced to the sad necessity of engaging in it.

"When, at length, we were compelled to resist the most odious of aggressions; when the seat of justice saw itself suddenly surrounded by barricades, which at the same instant sprung up throughout the city, when the enclosed troops were obliged to clear a passage through the fire of musketry, treacherously prepared behind the windows and on the roofs of the city, we have had severe duties to fulfil. It was necessary to save Lyons and France; to this task I devoted myself. Two of your assistants, Messrs. Cazenove and Chinard, stationed at the same post with myself, have partaken my dangers and anxiety. They have worthily represented the municipal authority in the south district of the city.

"It is most gratifying to me, after these painful moments, to receive from the municipal council of the city of Lyons, a testimony that my efforts have obtained their approbation. I trust that I may now be able to assist in alleviating the miseries we were unable to prevent. I shall dedicate myself to this new task, and you will find me always ready to support the interests of your city with the attachment of a man who has become your fellow-citizen in heart and sentiment.

"Accept, &c.

"The Counsellor of State, Prefect of the Rhône,

"GASPARIN."

It was impossible but that the echo of the events at Lyons

should make itself heard in the adjacent districts. The projects of the insurgents had excited amongst them, we may safely say, universal reprobation; but that reprobation had not exhibited itself everywhere with the same energy.

Through a deplorable weakness, a certain number of townships had abandoned to the revolted bands the arms of their national guards. About three hundred muskets thus reinforced the arsenal of the rebels. I am aware that no excuses can be offered for such facts. I know that, perhaps, not a single musket could have been carried off if all had shown the same courage which some exhibited. Nevertheless, it is certain that the decided tone of the Lyonese emissaries, their numerical force, and finally the forced absence of all intelligence of passing events, and all order, sufficed to impose even on resolute men. The disarming, ordered by the Prefect, had already produced an injurious impression. I shall be silent on that subject. But to give an idea of those attempts, the success of which I deplore, I shall relate what happened in two town-ships where the question of superior force was too evident for my statement to resemble a censure.

At Vaise, on the 10th of April, a man of lofty stature, wearing a helmet on his head, girded with a cavalry sabre, and followed by sixty armed individuals, and the same number without weapons, presented himself at the town-house, and addressing one of the secretaries, demanded if the mayor was present. Receiving an answer in the affirmative, he used nearly these words:—"I am a Frenchman and a proprietor. Indignant at the murders perpetrated upon my fellow-citizens, by the garrison of Lyons, I have taken arms to revenge them. *The dispute to-day is not about a penny a yard, but on the great question of existence between Louis-Philippe and the Republic.* The Republic must triumph; in its name I demand from the mayor of Vaise arms and ammunition, which on the faith of citizens worthy of credit, he has at disposal. I summon you to deliver them to us."

It is useless to proceed further. Some muskets were delivered up; it was necessary to yield to violence.

The occurrences at Oullins call for mention here in full detail.

On Wednesday the sound of cannon and musketry threw the whole township into alarm; but the arrival of a battalion of infantry restored calmness, and the day passed quietly despite the most exaggerated accounts of success on the part of the rebels and of losses on that of the army.

These tales were rejected and denied at once by the parties attached to the government.

In the course of the day, the battalion of infantry left Oullins and marched upon Lyons, leaving behind a detachment of eighteen men.

During the night, the artillery quitted Pierre Bénite, and repaired to Lyons, without leaving behind a single man.

Throughout the whole of Thursday, the rebels driven from La Guillotière and the Broteaux, proceeded along the left bank of the Rhône in front of Pierre Bénite, crossing the river in the direction of St. Just; they were without arms, but their faces blackened by powder, their right cheeks marked by the butt of a musket, and their language, made them sufficiently recognizable. Everywhere they proclaimed that they were victorious, and spread terror through the township.

At mid-day, a band of sixty men, partly armed, attacked and disarmed the post of infantry.

This circumstance created general alarm: this audacious disarming of soldiers so near the bridge of La Mulatière occupied by the garrison, seemed to be a certain sign that all was lost.

Efforts were made to restore failing confidence: it was proposed to make all the national guards take arms, and to lend some of their muskets to the despoiled soldiers; the most urgent attempts were without effect.

Groups of men, unknown to the district, assembled at all points; the coffee-houses and taverns were filled; their shouts and seditious songs could no longer be suppressed; the royalists groaned, and concealed themselves. Night passed in the utmost inquietude.

On Friday, matters were in the same condition: at one o'clock a band, half armed, repaired to the acting mayor, and demanded weapons with the most insulting threats.

The commandant of the national guard was apprised that the rebels had blockaded the municipal council, and threatened to fire on them unless arms were delivered up; he hastened to the spot, and entered the square alone, where sixty men surrounded him on the instant; four only had muskets, the others, pistols, poignards, and sharpened foils.

Other armed men were in the court of the mayoralty, and in the guard-house; they had with them a soldier in uniform whom they forced to accompany them, to convey a belief that the army sympathized with the revolt.

Finally, several individuals of this band had already forced violent entry into the houses, and by intimidating women and weak men, had compelled the surrender of arms, which they loaded, and then concealed themselves in the alleys.

Not a single officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier of the national guard appeared in the square; all seemed to be lost.

The leader of the band demanded the rest of the arms in the name of the provisional republican government, declaring that Louis-Philippe was unanimously dethroned; that the army fighting for him and his authorities in Lyons was surrounded, and could communicate with no one; that the republicans were masters of the telegraph, and that their guns were pointed against the place de Fourvières; that the garrison was preparing to retreat by Oullins, and that the town-ship of St. Foy had delivered up its arms. He proposed not to require the remainder of the muskets until all

he had announced was verified. One of the guards was despatched to St. Foy; he returned declaring that the telegraph was broken, the fort of St. Irénée in the hands of the insurgents, their artillery on the place de Fourvières, and in conclusion that St. Foy had given up its arms.

The surrender of muskets continued during this time; but being anxious to hasten it, the leader of the band demanded a mint-stamp and a drum. These were refused; he then sent people to sound the tocsin; the tocsin would have done more mischief than the roll-call; his demand was submitted to, and he retired.

On Saturday, fresh bands traversed Peron and Pierre Bénite; but being few in number and badly armed, they met with no success. The rebels continued to pass the Rhône; no longer the same description of men. These latter were furious, and their menaces appalling; to revenge themselves on the gunners, to burn their barracks, to pillage their lodgings, to massacre their wives;—such were the sinister projects they gave utterance to, and which the intended victims, partly located in the inns, either heard themselves or learnt from all quarters. Horror prevailed throughout, but despair brings back courage: the women and valuable effects were removed to a place of safety, arms were silently assumed and precautions adopted. Some misled but honest work-people, to whom they appealed, swore not to allow their victory to be tarnished (they believed themselves victorious) by such awful crimes.

The night passed without events; firing continued at the Mulatière and in the Sanlées, but faintly kept up.

On Sunday, nothing of note occurred; the firing relaxed more and more at the Mulatière.

On Monday, the rebels, lying in ambuscade behind the limekiln of Oullins, still kept up a fire on the soldiers; but, towards noon, they retired. We began to perceive the end of these disorders. By evening all was calm.

Finally, on Tuesday, free circulation and tranquillity were re-established.

While these lamentable scences were in progress in the township of Oullins, that of Venissieux, which comprises part of the division of Vienne, unanimously offered to M. de Gasparin its 3,000 national guards, who had once before gone with him to Lyons. Neuville, Trévoux, and the surrounding districts, also assembled their national guards, and armed the remainder of the citizens with staves and pitchforks. The division of Villefranche rose to a man at the call of its sub-prefect, M. Silvain Blot, whose courage and activity surmounted all obstacles. The national guards of Messieux and Thurins, encouraged by their commandant, repulsed the hostile bands. The mayor of Calmire provisioned fort Montessay. The inhabitants of Brignais opposed to the attempts of the insurgents a demeanour full of energy, and those of Couson, without arms themselves, disarmed the disturbers who ventured to assail them.

It was evident that the insurrection of Lyons found in the neighbouring districts sometimes weakness, but never sympathy. Unfortunately this was not the case everywhere; in a certain number of towns, the associates of the *Rights of Man* endeavoured to support their friends of Lyons, and thus made manifest the extreme danger which a momentary reverse in that city might have produced. At Avignon, at Nîsmes, and at Marseilles, a smothered and menacing agitation announced a terrible explosion; and if the mail had been intercepted a single day longer, public tranquillity would have been dangerously compromised. At Clermont, Grenoble, Chalôns, and Vienne, tumults or attempted tumults presaged more extensive risings. The movement even passed the frontier, and Ferney felt the rebound of Lyons. At Arbois, the republic was formally proclaimed. Finally, in Paris and at St. Etienne, scenes of blood concluded the mournful drama in which Lyons assumed the leading character,

and in which every town in France seemed ready to take a part.

In Paris, it was merely a desperate attempt against a national guard animated by the best spirit, and against an army of troops. The republic was impotent; it was a protestation in honour of the Lyonese revolt, and nothing more.

But at St. Etienne the case was different. There, the labourers are numerous and the armed force insignificant. There, the political and industrial associations had done their work; the danger therefore was real, and augmented with all the influence which the disturbances at St. Etienne could exercise upon those of Lyons. If the manufactory of arms had been carried, the consequences of that disaster would have been incalculable, and when we reflect that it might have happened, we feel the necessity of expressing to General Pegot and his small garrison, to the prefect of the Loire, M. Sers, and to M. Dugos, sub-prefect of St. Etienne, all the sentiments due to their noble conduct, and the full gratitude which such eminent services demand.

I have related this sacrilegious struggle which the spirit of disorder provoked and sustained. I am anxious for the last time to reduce to their true value the assertions of those who, after having misrepresented the causes of our catastrophes, seek to exaggerate their consequences.

If we listen to them, Lyons is reduced to a heap of ruins. Sixty, and perhaps a hundred millions would not suffice to indemnify the proprietors for the losses they have sustained. By their account, the insurrection, suppressed for the moment, is ready to burst forth again, more menacing and furious than ever. The workmen and manufacturers, seized with legitimate terror, abandon in all quarters a city which no longer affords them a peaceable asylum, and the trade of Lyons must emigrate or perish.

These pictures are drawn by malevolence, and accepted by fear.

The truth is, that the material damages are not so considerable as might be supposed. On the Monday, while the last shots were exchanging at the Croix-Rousse, I traversed the streets still bristling with barricades, the quays covered with soldiers, and the squares guarded by cannon. It was then a state of war. The houses occupied as military posts, the bivouacs, the inhabitants imprisoned in their houses, the distant noise of combat, all recalled those ominous ideas which have since subsided by degrees. I then compared Lyons after the days of April, with Paris after those of June or July, and I was astounded at the difference. While observing in the quarter of St. George and St. John, in the main street of Vaise, in the street of Mercière, in the street which leads up to the Croix-Rousse, in the main street of La Guillotière, and in all the squares in the heart of the city, the multiplied traces of combat, the innumerable marks of cannon and musket balls, so easily perceptible on the dark walls;—while contemplating ruins still more deplorable, the houses burnt by the petards, in all quarters of the city and suburbs, and those destroyed by fire in the street of the Hospital, on the quay of the Rhône, and at the tête-de-pont of La Guillotière;—I too could not refrain from believing the mischief to be greater than it really was. It is true that at that moment I did not value it in francs or cents. In presence of the overwhelming and terrible idea of civil war, we cannot enter into the paltry calculation of indemnity.

But after the barricades were levelled, the troops had marched back to their barracks, the cannon had been restored to the arsenal, the people had once more appeared in the streets, the shops were opened, and the looms began to work, the traces of balls and bullets began to disappear; Lyons recovered its ordinary aspect, and but for the rubbish of the consumed houses, it would have been difficult to believe that war had so lately raged there. Then we began to take a more exact and practical estimate of the damage

sustained, and it was decided that four or five millions would sufficiently replace all losses.

My object is not to discuss here questions of law, or to decide whether this sum ought to be paid by the state, or whether we fall under the conditions named in the act of Vendémiare, year IV., which places the expense at the charge of the townspeople. I shall only permit myself a single observation; namely, that the quarrel settled at Lyons was not a local dispute; it was the great political question between the constitutional government and the extreme parties by whom it was constantly attacked; the quarrel, in fact, of July 1830, and June 1832. Now, at these two epochs, the Chambers decided with sound wisdom, that Paris ought not to pay for all France; that it was a sufficient infliction to be the theatre of contest, without being loaded in addition with the incidental expenses. I appeal, in favour of Lyons, to the authority of these precedents.

One word more, before quitting the subject, on the reproaches cast upon our generals, for having used artillery and petards. This is one of those vulgar complaints which ought to be disposed of at once and for ever. Yes, undoubtedly, cannon, howitzer-shells, and petards were used to spare the blood of the soldiers. Yes, the generals have incurred the blame of thinking that the lives of those men, who performed such painful duties with so much courage, were worth more than some pannels of walls; and more even than the lives of the lunatics who thought to find within those walls an impenetrable rampart. Let it be permitted to those who see no Frenchmen in France but such as oppose the government of the country, to refuse to the soldiers who serve it the title of citizens; but we who think that the assumption of a uniform forfeits no right belonging to the great national confederacy,—when they talk to us of ten houses destroyed, we reply that fifty brave men have been spared. Woe to those who refuse to admit the force of this answer!

I have exposed the physical state in which Lyons was left by the revolt of April. The disposition of minds is more interesting, but also more difficult to estimate.

If we cast a glance, in the first instance, upon that very numerous class which, without taking any open part in the movement, indirectly lent a hand to it, felt an interest in the success of the insurgents, and waited only a favourable chance to contribute their efforts, we shall find them more furious than humbled. They form a thousand extravagant projects of vengeance. The workmen, themselves, who by the experience of February were completely disgusted with associations and intrigues, rallied for the moment round their brethren, because it appeared to them that the entire class was vanquished, and their pride as heroes of November was wounded by that idea. There is, therefore, a great degree of excitement still prevailing amongst that portion of the community: an excitement inevitable after such a check. They are litigants who condemn their judge; they are allowed twenty-four hours in court; at Lyons it is not too much to give them a month.

We must, undoubtedly, attribute to the idle threats of the workmen, the fears no less absurd to which many of the manufacturers have given way. They do not reflect on the impossibility of a serious attempt at the moment when the garrison is trebled, the party beaten in other quarters, the association dissolved, the leaders in flight or in prison, and their arms removed. In spite of all these reasons for security, they place faith in the most ridiculous tales. There is a plot for disarming all the posts, and carrying off the authorities during the night; there is a depôt of muskets, and a manufactory of cartridges. The execution of this plot was fixed for the 26th, then for the 28th, and then indefinitely postponed. Meanwhile many persons left the city and retired to the country, and some even went abroad, to wait the issue of a crisis which they believed to be imminent, instead of looking upon it as over.

But this effect, like the preceding one, is transient in its nature. To those who recollect the terrors, so prolonged and animated, which followed the catastrophe of 1831, these new apprehensions do not seem incurable. I feel convinced that they will soon give place to a feeling of security, which the continuance of public peace will immediately produce, and the defeat of the extreme parties, the definitive breaking up of the industrial or political coalitions, and the commercial prosperity which cannot fail to ensue, must unquestionably guarantee and permanently establish.

Heaven grant that our late troubles may have no other mischievous consequences than the irritation of some, and the momentary terror of others! They have given new strength to the exclusive necessity of order and repose, which ought to spring naturally from our conflicts and protracted sufferings. Perhaps it may excite astonishment if I name this sentiment, so legitimate in itself, as a danger for the country. But if I feel proud of belonging to the moderate party, it is because it gives me the right of rejecting all extreme principles, and of hastening to the rescue of order, when liberty alone possesses men's minds; to the rescue of liberty when public order only is thought of; to the preservation of the device on our standard. Yes, I repeat it, this consideration is more important than is imagined. With every commotion, indifference on political subjects, that gangrene of the social body, makes fresh progress; the partizans of repression at any cost become more numerous and threatening. There is no extravagance of the press, no riot in the streets, which does not take from true liberty some of its old defenders. Let there be another insurrection, and many will be ready to sacrifice the freedom of the press, and individual privileges. One more revolt, and *coups d'état* will be called for, another eighteenth of Brumaire may be possible, and a military government be established. Then the moderates of to-day will perhaps show themselves more

faithful to their principles, more energetic and impassioned in the defence of public liberty, than those who accuse them of lukewarmness.

It is not probable that things will ever come to that climax; faction, beaten on all points, will speedily disappear. Of this I have a firm conviction. The electoral battle will be gained as well as the battle of the streets. Violent opposition will ground its arms, and from that time this paroxysm of public order it has excited will naturally calm down. But I have felt called upon to notice it; and above all when speaking of a city which more than any other has given itself up to this sort of prepossession.

To speak only of the consequences that specially interest the city of Lyons, it is impossible not to see that the recent events have entirely delivered it from the recollections of November, 1831, from that perpetual menace, that sword of Damocles, which for two years have interdicted its repose. They have mortally wounded the society of *Mutualists* and of the *Rights of Man*, which exercised alternately the mission of agitation. They have prepared us to repulse with increased energy every new attempt at revolt, because they have taught all peaceable inhabitants how much it costs them to suffer the roof they live under to be invaded by bands of rebels.

But there is more than this. Although the industrial question may not have been directly engaged in the struggle, it has felt the counter-blow, and ought to rejoice that it has done so. Let me explain myself. The evil that affects the manufactory at Lyons is the competition of foreign manufactories, which produce plain tissues as well as we can, and at a cheaper rate. To compete with this, we must lower the price of manual labour. But this reduction can hardly be reconciled with the existence of the working-classes in a great city where expenses are multiplied. Before resolving to establish themselves in the rural dis-

tricts, the labourers endeavoured to maintain their salaries by the tariff. We followed this great experience in the three principal crises—in November 1831, at the council of the masters of companies, and in the month of February 1834. The demonstration was complete, and the last occurrences still further confirmed it, by rendering political and industrial coalitions impracticable for the future. Thus, the tariff has been decidedly given up. This is so certain, that the *Echo of the Manufactory*, which was its champion, has recently issued a prospectus filled with the expression of its distress. It has asked from its friends the four thousand francs required for security, and to give it thus the privilege of discussing the political questions, without which it could not last for fifteen days. No one answered this appeal; the tariff was dead, and could not be revived in any shape.

But this is only a negative solution. It was still necessary to find the means of diminishing the cost of manufacture. Already, before the late events, many workshops were opened in the rural townships which surround Lyons; since then, this emigration has become general. There is even a question, it has been confidently stated, of establishing beyond the confines of Lyons considerable manufactures. Herein lies, I venture to assert, the only possible issue of these interminable quarrels. In the country, subsistence is cheaper, and the work-people will be able to fill up, by various agricultural occupations, the deficiency created here during the season of slack employment. In the great factories, the foreman will disappear, and the general expenses of manufacture will be diminished by the suppression of a superfluous wheel.

I know that in the tribune, the emigration of the operatives in silk has been declared impossible. I have an excellent answer to offer; namely that it has taken place; and without difficulty, because the division of labour, quoted as an obstacle, is nowhere so insignificant as in the manufactory of

Lyons. Thus all the villages in the department of the Rhône re-echo with the noise of the looms; a great portion of the plain stuffs come from them, and that tendency, which had manifested itself for more than a year, received a fresh and wholesome impulse from the troubles of the month of April.

But let it not be supposed that the city of Lyons, thus abandoned by a portion of its inhabitants, is destined to lose its importance, or yield the rank it occupies at present. Many people anticipate its fall. I, on the contrary, predict for it a most brilliant future.

Those of its working-classes who establish themselves in the country cannot go far off. Their relations with the manufacturers are too multiplied to permit a long separation. Thus, the villages are filled with workshops, but only those in the neighbourhood, which will gradually become advanced suburbs of the great industrial metropolis. In this new position, the fabric of plain silk may contend advantageously against foreign competition, and bring back to Lyons many orders that had abandoned it. The confidence produced by this new prosperity will re-act upon the city in its turn. Secured by the measures of government, by the disarming of the townships which gave up muskets to the rebels, by the expulsion of turbulent strangers, and by the reinforcements added to the garrison, that confidence will be completed by a considerable augmentation of the local police, and by its concentration in the hands of the Prefect.

Let the railroad from Lyons to Marseilles be then completed; let the union of the Brotteaux and the enfranchisement of the Pont Morand be carried out, and a new quarter, richer and more influential, will amply compensate for what other portions of the city may have lost in population. Lyons will descend from Fourvières and the Croix-Rousse; it will emerge from its dark and narrow streets, to extend itself leisurely in the peninsula of Perrache and the plain of

the Brotteaux. At Perrache, the railroad from St. Etienne will attract all the traffic from the pits, all the business that works in iron and uses coal, all the factories in steam which have already taken possession of it. At the Brotteaux, the railroad from Marseilles will complete an immense depository of commerce. Observe that unbroken line of Provençal waggons which transport to Lyons the produce to be distributed in all directions; cast an eye then upon the map, and seek for a valley which from the Mediterranean Sea penetrates into the heart of Europe; you will find but the valley of the Rhône, and that at Lyons alone it divides itself. It is at Lyons that the great European high-road takes new directions, one reaching Paris, another Germany, and the third Switzerland; and brilliant would be the part assigned to Marseilles and Lyons, if the projected railroad should pour into that single line the accumulated commerce of the North and South.

Therein lies the fortune of Lyons. Undoubtedly, the trade in silk will never leave our city; but, even if it were so, her greatness would survive that loss. The future destines for us many compensations, and our prosperity will surely endure.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM CLOWES AND SONS, STAMFORD STREET
AND CHARING CROSS.

944.06
[redacted]
ma
3 6105 010 341 605
18469

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD AUXILIARY LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-9201
All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE

FEB 19 2001
MAR 19 2001
JUL 23 2001
SEP